

A HISTORY
OF THE
THIRTY YEARS' PEACE.

A.D. 1816-1846.

By HARRIET MARTINEAU.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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HISTORY OF THE PEACE.

BOOK IV.—(Continued.)

CHAPTER VIII.

Renewal of the Bank Charter—India Company's Charter—Negro Slavery—Abolition Movements—Negro Emancipation—First of August 1834.

-THERE were two matters of great importance which must be considered at this time, whoever might be in or out of power, and whatever might be happening, at home or abroad. The two great charters, of the India Company and of the Bank of England, were to expire in 1834, and it must be timely determined whether they were to be renewed, and on what conditions. As has been notified, a parliamentary committee had already been appointed, and had begun its work of inquiring into the claims and affairs of the India Company. On the 22nd of May 1832, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a similar inquiry in regard to the Bank of England. This last committee was, however, a secret one, for the obvious reason that disclosures on currency subjects, for a succession of months, with uncertainty at the end of it, would embarrass all commercial transactions. The committee sat, and diligently pursued its inquiry during the rest of the session, offering its report on the 11th of August. This committee was appointed on the fifth day after the return of Lord Grey and his colleagues to power; and it began its abstract and passionless work while words were running high in the other House between Lords Kenyon and Grey, and while the remnant of anti-reforming peers were undergoing

defeat as often as they ventured a division on the clauses of the Reform Bill. Such were the days when the bank committee sat, and when the very eminent men who were in it were preparing a report of extraordinary value. They felt the seriousness of their work, and well they might. The last renewal of the exclusive privileges of the bank had taken place in 1800, when the term assigned was a years notice after the 1st of August 1833, and during that interval what vicissitudes and alarms had taken place!—what warnings of the disastrous nature of errors in currency matters, and of the magnitude of the interests now to be involved in an engagement for another term of years! The distresses of 1814, the crisis of 1819, and the crash of 1825-6, were fresh in the recollection of several members of the committee, and a matter of deep interest to all: and under this stimulus, they so exerted themselves that their report is considered—in connection with the evidence on which it is founded—the most important instrument towards the establishment of sound principles of banking as yet offered to the government and people of England. Among others, there were on the committee, Sir Robert Peel, Mr Poulett Thomson, Sir Henry Parnell, Mr John Smith, Mr Baring, Mr Warburton, Mr Morrison, Mr Bonham Carter, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—statesmen, financiers, economists, and practical men of business. What they had to investigate was this: whether the paper money of London should be limited to the issues of one bank, or whether a competition of issues should be allowed; whether all the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England were necessary, supposing it to be still the only bank of issue in London, and what checks were desirable to secure the public from danger from banks of issue, and especially whether a periodical publication of accounts would be a benefit or a disadvantage. On these points, the committee gave a vast amount of information, without any imposition of decided opinions of their own. They did all that time and circumstances allowed in laying before parliament the full materials for a judgment, and in venturing to reveal the exact state of the affairs of the Bank of England, thereby breaking up the system of mystery which had hitherto

been one of the dangerous privileges of the bank corporation. Up to this date, the directors had preserved the most cautious secrecy about their affairs, declaring dividends, year after year, upon their own arbitrary judgment, without any sanction of publicity. Now, however, the House of Commons printed the report of the secret committee; and it was understood that darkness would never again be allowed to settle down on the transactions of the great corporation.

A new charter was granted, terminable 'at any time upon twelve months' notice to be given after the 1st of August 1855;' and the privileges of the bank might cease sooner, upon the fulfilment of certain conditions by the country; one of which was the repayment by parliament of upwards of eleven millions, owing by the public to the bank. The bank retained, under the new charter, the chief of its old privileges; and one principal new advantage in a restriction on all other banks, having more than six partners, from issuing notes or bills within sixty-five miles of London. A great convenience was also afforded to the bank by its notes, and the notes of its branches, being made a legal tender everywhere but at the bank and its branches. By this provision, the bank was saved the expense, inconvenience, and risk of having to keep up, all over the kingdom, stocks of bullion to meet any run which might occur in any direction, at any time. There was some alarm at first among half-informed people about this provision, which was regarded as countenancing a sort of inconvertible paper-currency; but the holders were in fact in exactly the same position as before in regard to the convertibility of the notes, while new facilities were, at the same time, added for obtaining cash in any of its forms from the bank, by the establishment of new branches. All branch notes were made payable only at their place of issue. Weekly returns of bullion and of notes in circulation were to be sent in to the chancellor of the exchequer, in order to publication in the *London Gazette*—a provision of publicity which has worked so well as to be carefully renewed, after ten years of trial. One-fourth of the debt due from the public to the bank was immediately paid, by an assignment of stock previously held by the commissioners of the national debt. In consideration

of its new privileges the bank was to deduct £120,000 per annum from its charge for the business of conducting the national debt affairs. At the time of this inquiry, the total receipts of the bank for the year were £1,689,176, and its expenses somewhat under £500,000, leaving £1,164,235 to be divided among the proprietors. The establishment employed about 1,000 persons, and supported 193 pensioners, the average receipts of the 1,000 functionaries being £225 each, and those of the pensioners £161 each. Such were the state and constitution of the Bank of England on the granting of the new charter of 1834. It will be seen hereafter how the never-ceasing changes of commercial affairs, and the imperfection of the best knowledge on the ground, compelled in ten years the bank, with a

in ten years no essential preparation was made by the new provision for publicity, by the establishment of more branches with better security against a disastrous local drain, and by the

1832 and 1833

in the constitution

to take place at the

same time. For nearly two centuries and a half, the merchant vessels of the East India Company had traversed the seas, before the eyes of the world. This magnificent association had formed the link between the barbarism of the past and distant and the civilization of the future in its home, and now it was to be quietly let drop as useless—the east and the west having come into a communication which should now be left free. The commerce of this corporation, which had once been altogether a facility, had become a monopoly, and the changes of centuries required that it should be broken up. So the Company remained princes, but no longer merchant princes. At a quarter of a century before the time now under notice, a Liverpool merchant, the most honoured of his class, Mr. William Rathbone, was in London, as I struck with the spectacle of the Company's shipping he inquired of a London merchant at his elbow, why such a trade—a trade so great

and so capable of unlimited expansion—was quietly left to be the property of a Corporation. His friend replied by convincing him of the overwhelming power of the Company in London, under whose shadow no discontent could stir with impunity; and the two agreed that whenever any movement was made, it must be in the provinces. Mr. Rathbone was not a man to loiter over any work which he saw ought to be done. He stirred up Liverpool, Glasgow, Paisley, and Manchester, to demand an opening of the trade; and the movement had proceeded so far before 1813, when the Company's charter was to expire, that a considerable relaxation of the monopoly was then obtained. From that time British merchants were permitted to trade to the territories of the Company, and India generally, though none but the Company might traffic with China. During the next twenty years, the doctrine of free-trade had been elaborated and partially practised; the demand for tea had largely increased in England; those who had visited the United States could tell what a variety of Chinese productions they had seen in the houses of the Salem merchants, and in the shops of New York, and how much they had heard of the desire of thickly-peopled China for a supply of European and American productions; and the demand for a complete opening of the eastern seas had become too strong to be resisted. By the charter of 1813, the Company had been bound to keep their territorial and commercial accounts separate; and on their first examination, it was clear that they could not for a moment compete with private merchants in supplying India with manufactured goods, to the advantage of both parties. In fifteen years, the Company's exports of manufactured cottons to India had dwindled to almost nothing, while those of private merchants exceeded in value a million and a half per annum, and were still on the increase. After all that the English public had been told of the immutability of Hindoo habits, and the impossibility of any great expansion of trade, it became clear that the Hindoos, like other people, would stretch out their hands to obtain good and comfortable things, if only such things were placed within their reach. Bishop Heber's journals were by this time published; and they told of the strong disposition of

both Hindoos and Mohammedans in India to imitate the English, and obtain whatever was necessary to enable them to assume an English mode of living, he tells of jackets and trousers, shoes and stockings, round hats, English furniture, French devices and mottoes on jewellery, English hardware, crockery, writing-desks, arms, and clothing—not only in and near Calcutta, but in remote provincial towns. This much having been proved, the commercial world did not attend to what the Company now said of the immutability of Chinese habits, and the impossibility of any great expansion of trade there. It was time to try. The Company took warning by their experience of the results of competition with private enterprise in India, and did not insist upon renewing the experiment in China. Their age as traders was past; and they now retired upon their territorial dignity, leaving a large section of the world open to British commerce. It was a striking event. . . . at home, and to many abroad. At . . . having cheap tea, and plenty of . . . that a

. ports might soon
 on and New York;
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 and a mixture of
 painstaking. Many, it may be hoped, thought of the
 blessing to the Chinese of new means and opportunities of
 civilisation, and some, of the effect upon the relations of
 the whole world of the throwing open the interior
 between the east and the west, which, whether caused with
 a war at the outset or not, was certainly necessary to an
 ultimate evolution of fraternisation and peace. In this
 view, one point was of eminent interest to some of the best
 people living in the world. In these newly opened
 countries of the east, there are wide commercial belts
 of civilisation, fitted for the production of sugar and
 cotton. It is the limitation of the area for the production
 of sugar and cotton, by the restriction of the area of
 slavery. It is well to recall the fact that the
 first war between the United States and Great Britain
 was a war of slavery. But there was another aspect of the
 question. If slavery were not abolished, it certainly

must be by a cheaper production of sugar and cotton in the east by free labour than can be accomplished in the west by slave labour. No such possibility existed while the India Company held the east in their hand; but now the prospect seemed to be opening; and in this view, again, the date of the expiration of the Company's charter might be one of high importance in the history of the world.

By the act of 1833, the charter was renewed for twenty years, during which time the territorial government remains in the hands of the Company. From the 22nd of April 1834, the China and tea trade of the Company was to cease, and all its commercial concerns were to be wound up, and its commercial property sold. All the restrictions which prevented the free admission of Europeans, and their free residence in India, were repealed; and equality of claim to office and employment between natives and foreigners was decreed. There was to be no distinction on account of race, colour, or religion. From that day, new hopes have been dawning upon the east; and it is now universally understood that the great work to be done in India is to raise the native population by educational methods, and by a just administration of our power, and not, as it once was, to keep them down by force—whether for their own sake or ours. As for the commercial results of the new charter, the number of ships which passed to and fro increased year by year, even before the introduction of steam-navigation into those seas. In ten years, the trade with China had doubled, and the value of British and Irish exports to India and Ceylon had increased from two millions and a half to six millions and nearly a half.

During the same period, as is observed in the commercial registers of the time, the value of the exports to the West Indies had declined. These colonies were in a disturbed and unsatisfactory state. For some years, the experiment of a gradual preparation of the slave for freedom had been going on; and with the inevitable result of failure. The slaves were informed by the arrival of successive orders in council, by the appointment of protectors of slaves, and by the trial of a few slave causes, that they had rights; and when a man of any colour once knows to a certainty that he has rights which are withheld

from him by parties close at hand, he is never contented again in his wronged condition. The planters were as restless in their way as the slaves. They resented the orders in council, and every thing in the shape of admonition from home, as an unwarrantable interference with their management of their property, and they refused the slave registration and other observances prescribed by government. The language in their assemblies was audaciously disrespectful and petulant, and in Trinidad there was a proposition that the inhabitants should refuse to pay taxes till the last order in council was rescinded. In December 1831, a formidable insurrection broke out in Jamaica, which occasioned suspension of business and other loss, and was put down only by martial law, and in the following April the West India merchants in London endeavoured to make government liable for the losses thus incurred, and for all, which, in the opinion of the planters, could be traced to the operation of the orders, or of other movements in behalf of the slave. When, at this meeting, the responsibility for all disorders was thrown upon the British government, and protests and claims were sent in to the colonial secretary, 'in consequence of the measures pursued by his majesty's ministers,' it was clear that a final settlement of the great question was at hand. It was now too late to desert the cause of the slaves, and hand them over to the arbitrary management of their owners. There must be a final issue, and the planters were bringing it on as fast as they could. If they had not done so, events would. In the three years from 1828, the

at the imports
185,660 tons
their ground

if England would give them aid, and only leave them to manage their slaves in their own way, while England felt not only that the negroes were fellow subjects as well as the whites, but that no power on earth could roll back the years so as to reinstate the planters in their former position. By their present conduct, the West India merchants and proprietors hurried on the crisis at a rate not dreamed of by the friends of the negro at home.

On the 17th of April, the Earl of Harwood presented

to the House of Lords, a petition from persons interested in the colonies, for a full parliamentary inquiry into the laws, usages, and condition of the West India colonies, their past improvements, and possible future ameliorations—due regard being had to ‘the best interests of the slaves themselves, and the rights of private property.’ The committee was granted; and the last order in council was suspended for the time. On the 24th of May, the lord chancellor presented a petition from 135,000 persons, resident in and near London, praying for the speedy abolition of slavery, and that no delay might be caused by the appointment of the West India committee. Lord Suffield followed with twenty-one petitions to the same purpose. While these were discussed in the one House, Mr. T. Fowell Buxton was moving in the other for a select committee to prepare for the extinction of slavery in the British dominions at the earliest possible moment. It is painful now to read the debate on this occasion, not only on account of the perpetual pleas which make the reader blush for the conscience of the legislature—pleas of the good food, light work, and relief from responsibility, of the slaves, and of their enjoyment of the blessings of Christianity—but on account of the timidity and supineness of many who called themselves the friends of the negroes. Mr. Buxton had a hard battle to fight; but he stood his ground. He must have been aware that he understood the matter, while his opponents, of all parties, did not. He knew that the abolition of slavery was inevitable; and that the most speedy abolition would be the safest for all parties. He knew that a gradual preparation of a slave for freedom was an impossible thing; he knew that to leave the matter in the hands of the government was to give up the cause; he knew that to revert to the resolutions of the 15th of May 1823, was to acquiesce in another nine years’ delay; he knew that to mix up in the same motion the questions of emancipation and of compensation to the planters would be to expose the great moral to all the risks of the minor financial question; and he therefore stood firm, amidst the entreaties of friends, the mockery of foes, and the somewhat contemptuous displeasure of the ministers, who on this occasion could not be ranked either

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slave population was in a situation to receive that boon beneficially for themselves, but he thought that the legislature might employ itself most usefully in bringing the slaves to such a state of moral feeling as would be suitable to the proposed alteration in their condition ' and he moved an amendment on Mr Buxton's motion, in favour of ' conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May 1823 ' Thus far were our statesmen behind the time, that one of the most honest, one of the most sensitive to the claims of justice, was unawaro that the only possible education for the use of rights is in the exercise of the rights themselves, and was unabashed to revert to the barren resolutions of nine years before In that spirit of rectitude which includes the truest mercy, Mr Buxton refused to surrender his motion, even if he should vote alone Ninety, however, voted on his side, and 163 on the other This majority of 73 on Lord Althorp's side was not so large as was expected, and it was probably outnumbered, a hundred times over, by the converts to Mr Buxton's view outside the House, who could bring an effectual force to bear on the government

This question is one which implicates not two quarters of the world only, but three—not Europe and Africa only, but America It is necessary to survey the whole area of the operation of negro slavery, in order to give the true history of any one part There was at this date an infant movement in the United States which was destined to signabse our century as the Reformation distinguished its own age Some who live nearest to the cradle of this reformation are only now—five-and twenty years after its birth—beginning to perceive with any clearness the magnitude of the ovent, but so it is with all the great transitions in the world While the Reformation was going on, multitudes of ordinary people in Germany were living on as usual, in unconsciousness that anything remarkable was befalling the world, ' likewise also as it was in the days of Lot, they did eat, they drank, they

bought, they sold, they planted, they builded ;' and if any stranger had inquired of them about the new prophet and his doctrine, they would have denied that such existed, till the fire-shower of Luther's denunciations came to burn up the superstitions of the age. Thus it was new in the United States, where the gibbet and the tar-kettle and the cow-hide were preparing for the patriots of the community ; and the time was drawing on, when the rights of petition to congress, of the press, and of free speech, were to be suspended, in order to be restored with increased security, for the object of freeing the soil from negro slavery. Before this could happen, some noble hearts must be broken, some precious lives sacrificed, some public halls burned, and many private dwellings laid waste ; but the end was decreed, and the beginning was new made. In 1830, two young men had been sent to walk across the common at Boston, and discuss the right way of setting about the abolition of slavery in America ; and they and another—poor and obscure, all three of them—had met in a garret, and there, with their feet upon a wood-pile, and by the light of a single candle, they had solemnly resolved steadfastly to measure their moral force against the hideous evil. It has fallen to them and their followers to contend for a wider emancipation than that of the negroes—to be the champions, in the New World, of freedom of opinion, speech, and the press ; and before their work—new secure, but not fully accomplished—is finally dismissed from their hands, it may appear that yet other kinds of freedom have been brought in and established by them. The conflict between the powers of light and darkness, of liberty and tyranny, in the United States, is new, in the middle of the century, approaching its issue. At the time when Mr. Buxton stood up in the British House of Commons, refusing to yield his point, an indomitable brother-reformer over the seas had presented his manifesto in one of the finest declarations ever given to the world. No one knew better than Mr. Buxton, and no one would have been more eager to explain the fact, that the brother-spirit over the seas had infinitely the harder lot, and the most arduous work, of the two for his portion. It was only by living on bread and water that

with friends or foes. Lord Althorp, unaware what a work he and his colleagues were destined to do in a few short months, 'would not pledge himself to any immediate abolition of slavery, because he did not think that the slave-population was in a situation to receive that boon beneficially for themselves; but he thought that the legislature might employ itself most usefully in bringing the slaves to such a state of moral feeling as would be suitable to the proposed alteration in their condition;' and he moved an amendment on Mr. Buxton's motion, in favour of 'conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May 1823.' Thus far were our statesmen behind the time, that one of the most honest, one of the most sensitive to the claims of justice, was unaware that the only possible education for the use of rights is in the exercise of the rights themselves, and was unashamed to revert to the barren resolutions of nine years before. In that spirit of rectitude which includes the truest mercy, Mr. Buxton refused to surrender his motion, even if he should vote alone. Ninety, however, voted on his side, and 163 on the other. This majority of 73 on Lord Althorp's side was not so large as was expected; and it was probably outnumbered, a hundred times over, by the converts to Mr. Buxton's view outside the House, who

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the confessor of this mighty cause could obtain means to publish his paper. 'When it sold particularly well,' says his partner in the sacrifice, 'we treated ourselves with a bowl of milk.' In the small, shabby first sheet of *The Liberator*, printed with old types, we find the manifesto which will not be forgotten while the Anglo-Saxon liberties and language last. 'I am aware,' says Garrison, 'that many object to the severity of my language, but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead. It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing, and posterity will bear witness that I was right. I desire to thank God that He enables me to disregard the fear of man, and to speak His truth in its simplicity and power.' There were persons in the House of Commons who exclaimed against coarseness and precipitancy, and called out for soft words, and a mincing gait towards the object—the gaze reverting to the resolutions of nine years before. But the men who understood the case knew that events—and not any impulse of impatient minds—now e, and a tread that should d for liberty was now one

The property question might be considered too, but it must not be permitted to cause the delay of the greater argument. Though defeated on the division, Mr Buxton had made this clear, and from that day there was no more halting on either shore of the Atlantic.

A vote of relief in money to the West India colonies, on account of a destructive hurricane in Barbadoes, St Vincent, and St Lucia, was now made to include Jamaica, on account of the recent insurrection, and raised from £100,000 to £1,000,000. The chancellor of the exchequer

declared that it would require £800,000 to rebuild the premises, destroyed by the insurgent slaves. It was in this same year that the slaves in America heard of Garrison's manifesto; and from that time they ceased to rise. Till then, revolts had been frequent—several taking place every year. Since Garrison, the 'peace-man,' has arisen in their behalf, there has not been one.

By the 14th of the next May, the government had declared that they had found the pressure of public opinion on the subject of slavery too strong to be resisted; and they had brought forward, by the mouth of Mr. Stanley—who had become colonial secretary—a series of resolutions, which were to be debated on the 30th of the same month. In the speech of the secretary, introducing the resolutions, nothing is more remarkable than the narrative given of West India distress; a distress so frequently recurring, so incessantly complained of, in all conditions of war and peace, and of changing seasons, as to show that the secret of prosperity does not lie in slavery, and that there was some fatal fault in the system which the planters were so unwilling to have touched. There was nothing in this narrative to surprise the economists, in or out of the House; and the economists and the friends of the negro, and the most enlightened of the advocates of the planters, were alike sorry to see in the resolutions a clinging to the unsound method of 'gradualism' in the abolition of slavery. It was proposed that all children born after the passing of any act of emancipation, and all that should be under six years old at the time of its passage, should be declared free, that all others, then slaves, should be registered as apprenticed labourers, being considered free, except for the restriction of being compelled to labour for their present owners, under conditions, and for a space of time to be determined by parliament; that a loan, not exceeding £15,000,000 should be offered to the planters; and that parliament should provide for the expense of a local magistracy, and of means of education and religious training of the negroes.

Mr. Buxton declared at once against the compulsory apprenticeship, as a device pregnant with mischief. He was joined by one who had been a member of the govern-

duty well, and they completely succeeded in impressing the people with a sense of the solemnity of the occasion. The arrival of that midnight in the island of Antigua, where the negroes were to be wholly free at once, was an event which cannot be read of without a throbbing of the heart. It was to the negroes their passover night. They were all collected in their chapels—the Wesleyans keeping watch-night in the chapels throughout the island. The pastors recommended to the people to receive the blessing in silence and on their knees. At the first stroke of midnight from the great cathedral bell, all fell on their knees, and nothing was heard but the slow tolling bell, and some struggling sobs in the intervals. The silence lasted for a few moments after the final stroke, when a peal of awful thunder rattled through the sky, and the flash of lightning seemed to put out the lamps in the chapels. Then the kneeling crowd sprang to their feet, and gave voice to their passionate emotions—such voice as might be expected from this excitable people. Some tossed up their free arms, and groaned away at once the heart's burden of a life. Families and neighbours opened their arms to each other. Some prayed aloud, after the lead of their pastors, that they might be free indeed, and a voice was heard in thanksgiving for a real Sabbath now, when the wicked should cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest, and the voice of the oppressor should be no more heard, and the servant should be free from his master. In some of the chapels the noble spectacle was seen of the masters attending with their negroes, and, when the clock had struck, shaking hands with them, and wishing them joy. The rest of the holiday was spent partly in mirth, as was right, and much of it in listening to the addresses of the missionaries, who urged upon them with much force, and in the utmost detail, the duties of sobriety and diligence, and harmony with their employers. On the Monday morning, they went to work—that work which they were proud of now, as it was for wages.

Fair as was this promise, and well as the conduct of the negroes has justified the highest expectations of their most sanguine friends, no reasonable persons were 'so sanguine

as to suppose that all parties would be satisfied—that an act of parliament could neutralise all the evil results of an iniquity that was centuries old—that the striking of that cathedral clock was to silence all discontents for the future as well as the past. From the nature of things it could not be so. The planter could not at the striking of that clock, put off his habits of command, and his lifelong associations of inferiority with the negro race. He could not, in a moment or a year, become an economist, a practical man, carrying on his business with the close attention and care and thrifty skill held necessary in the employers of free labour elsewhere. And the negroes would certainly work in a very different way, and to a very different amount henceforth. The husband and father might, and no doubt would, accomplish much more actual work between year's end and year's end; but some of it would be for himself—on ground of his own; and the women would be almost universally withdrawn from field-labour; and they would keep their children under their own care at home. As the possession of land was, in the eyes of negroes, the symbol of all earthly power and privilege, it was certain that their great ambition would be to buy land; and thus, again, more labour would be withdrawn from the existing estates. And these estates were in that bad state of tillage which always co-exists with slave-labour; and the conditions were thus unfavourable to a change of system. The probability seemed to many to be that there would be a decline in the production of sugar, and distress among the planters, not remediable by any kind or degree of aid from England, ending probably in a transfer of the estates from the representatives of the old system to those of the new. A tone of fretful triumph would have to be borne with for a time from the enemies of emancipation; and, perhaps, a temporary deficiency of sugar—entailing further sacrifice on the English working-classes who had so cheerfully undertaken their share of the twenty millions of compensation; and, in some future time, every white might have sold his plantation to a black or mulatto capitalist. There would be much evil in all this, if it should happen; but after so long and grievous a sin, some retributive penalty must be expected;

and there were bright points both in the near and distant prospects. The negress was now under the protection of a husband, and had a home in which to labour and rest. Christianity could now be preached, without dread and without omission. While regretting any decline in the outward fortunes of the planters, no considerate person could for a moment put those outward fortunes into the scale against the moral and material interests of the vast majority of residents in the West Indies; and as for the supply of sugar, there is a broad belt surrounding the world—here studded with South American ranchos, there feathered with African palms, and beyond, watered by the rivers of India, and strewn with the islands of the eastern archipelago—where sugar enough may be grown for the needs of the whole race. The centuries bring with them their own resources. Ours brought a rich one in the insight and impulse to extinguish a mighty sin. Necessity and justice were seen and heard to demand it; the thing was done; and necessity and justice may always be trusted to vindicate themselves.

CHAPTER IX.

Character.

Thus far the Whig ministry had wrought and prospered well. They had undertaken their great works with a clear view of what ought to be done, and a determination to do it; or, if they at any time fell short in either of these requisites, the sympathy or opposition of the liberal party soon brought them up again. Among many defi-

ciencies and weaknesses which they were now to exhibit, the most fatal, and one of the most inexcusable, was in regard to Ireland. It required no miraculous wisdom to see that Catholic emancipation would not tranquillise Ireland while she suffered under the burden of what the *Times* called 'too much Church.' In the most orderly state of society in any country, it could not be expected that between six and seven millions of inhabitants of one religious faith would pay a portion of their produce to support a Church which included only a few hundred thousands—a Church which they conscientiously disapproved, and whose funds they saw to be ample, while their own priesthood had nothing to depend on but the precarious contributions of their flocks. On the one hand was a Church numbering 853,000, with four archbishops, eighteen bishops, and a law which authorised its clergy to derive an essential part of their incomes from tithes; and this in a country where tillage was the almost universal means of subsistence, and the division of the land was so minute that the tithe-collectors seemed never to have done making their demands of shillings and half-pence. On the other hand, there was a Church including six millions and a half of members, without aid from government, without countenance from the law; with a multitudinous priesthood who lived with the poor and like the poor; and from these poor was the tithe extorted by perpetually recurring applications—applications backed by soldiery and armed police, who carried off the pig, or the sack of potatoes, or the money-fee which the peasant desired to offer to his own priest. It required no miraculous wisdom to see that the long-exasperated Irish must consider this management as religious persecution, and feel that Catholic emancipation was not yet complete. A very ordinary foresight would have shown that it would soon be found impossible to collect tithe in Ireland; and further, that it must soon be acknowledged by the whole world at home, as it had long been declared by the whole world abroad, that the maintenance of the establishment in Ireland was an insult and injury which no nation could be expected to endure, and which must preclude all chance of peace till it should be abolished in its form of a dominant Church. The

ministers were not only without the miraculous wisdom, but they were without the ordinary foresight. They, Whigs as they were, were blinded by that same superstitious dread of changing the law which had, time after time, been the destruction of their opponents. They, Whigs as they were, seemed to have forgotten that no human law can be made for eternity—that no age or generation can bind down a future age or generation to its own arrangements or legislate in a spirit of prophecy. They whose ancestors had declared these truths in 1688, and as often since as any great reform had been needed—they, who had dissolved the laws which gave seats in parliament as a property to individuals, and the negro as a property to his white fellow man, pleaded now, while Ireland was convulsed from end to end with the Church question, that the Church in Ireland could never be touched because its establishment and revenues were guaranteed by law. If it was asked to whom were this establishment and these revenues guaranteed it was necessary to dismiss the abstraction called the Church, and to reply, either the worshippers or their clergy, and the question then was, whether means of worship could not be provided for the one, and an honourable subsistence for the other by some method less objectionable than taking his force the tenth potato and the tenth part from the Catholic peasant and parading the Church of the small minority before the eyes of the vast majority as the pensioned favourite of the state. If the Whig ministers had had sagacity to see the untenable nature of the Irish establishment and courage to propose its reduction to the proper condition of a Protestant denomination they would have gained honours even nobler than those which they won by parliamentary reform. It is highly probable that Ireland would have been by this time comparatively at ease for the ministers might apparently have carried such a measure at the outset of their legislation for Ireland, when their power was at its height, and the question of Church reform in England was discussed with a freedom and boldness which soon disappeared. If not, however—if they had failed and gone out upon this question—they would have entitled themselves to the eternal

gratitude of the nation, and of so much of the world at large as is interested in the interior peace and prosperity of the British Empire. But they did not see nor understand their opportunity. The phantom of the impersonal Church, and its shadowy train of legal guarantees, was before them, so as to shut out the realities of the case—the substantial interests of the Protestant religion, and the weighty facts that many of the churches were empty, the numbers of Protestants stationary or decreasing, and the working clergy actually living upon alms. The administration tried this and that and the other small method of dealing with the difficulty; at what expense of delay, contention, and ultimate partial yielding, we shall hereafter see. 'Of this,' said their friends at the time, by the most calm and moderate of their organs, 'there can be no doubt—the only way to afford her [the Irish Church] the least chance of a permanent existence, is to abolish tithes entirely, and to cut down her other emoluments very low indeed; that is to say, to reduce them until they amount to no more than a fair equivalent for the services which she can render in return for them.'

In 1831, the state of Ireland seemed to be growing daily worse in regard to violence. There was a conflict of forces between the lord-lieutenant and Mr. O'Connell. The lord-lieutenant issued proclamations against a certain order of public meetings. O'Connell and his friends disobeyed the proclamation, and were brought to trial. Delays and difficulties were introduced into the legal process, as is usual in Ireland; but the matter ended in O'Connell and his comrades pleading guilty to the first fourteen counts in the indictment, which charged them with holding meetings in violation of various proclamations. The attorney-general was satisfied, and withdrew the remaining counts. Mr. O'Connell denied in the newspapers that he had pleaded guilty; and declared that he had allowed judgment to go by default, in order to plead before the House of Lords, through the twelve judges—before which time, he hoped, the act under which he was prosecuted would expire. As it was asserted and proved in the House of Commons that he had actually pleaded guilty, and that nothing remained but for sentence to be

pronounced against him, his followers, in their amazement at such a fall resorted to the supposition that some kind of compromise had taken place between himself and the government and that the liberator had humbled himself in order to obtain some boon for Ireland. The supposition grew to a rumour, and the rumour spread to the friends and opponents of the ministers in parliament, and, though it was promptly met it was never again extinguished. Whether it was through indolence, carelessness, timidity, or temporary convenience, certain it was that the Whig government brought on itself for a course of years, the charge of compromise with O'Connell after repeated proofs of his utter unworthiness of all trust and therefore of all countenance as the representative of his country. On the present occasion, Mr Stanley, secretary for Ireland, was questioned in the House about the transactions of government with Mr O'Connell and his reply was express and clear. He would not say that Mr O'Connell's friends had not endeavoured to make terms for him but the reply of government had been that Mr O'Connell's conduct had not entitled him to any consideration and 'the law must take its course —' judgment should be pressed against him,' the crown and it would upon it'

place in the law
Ireland on what ground he had asserted that Mr O'Connell had endeavoured to make terms for him. 'There could be no delicacy in disclosing their names because if they were accredited agents he—on the supposition the principal—asked for publicity and if they were not his agents it was but common justice to hold them up as impostors. Again Mr Stanley's answer was express and clear. A

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ceive this explanation with shouts of laughter, and the shouts were renewed when Mr O'Connell said that 'he could not but admit that his question had been answered most satisfactorily by the right honourable gentleman.'

The terms proposed were, as Mr. O'Connell now declared, that he should forego his agitation for the repeal of the union, which he regarded only as means to an end, if the government would, in the first place, drop the prosecution, and next propose good measures for Ireland. The answer was, 'that no such compromise would be for a moment entertained by the Irish government, and that the law must take its course.' It is difficult to account for a self-exposure so audacious as this of O'Connell, on any other supposition than that he wished to advertise his readiness to be negotiated with, and to surrender his repeal agitation on sufficient inducement. He had long before so surrendered all pretensions to honour, and shown himself so incapable of conceiving of honour, that he could go through a scene like this of the 28th of February 1831, with less embarrassment than any other man. The misfortune of the case to the government was, that it did not redeem the pledge given by Mr. Stanley. The law did not take its course; Mr. O'Connell was not brought up for judgment. Time passed on; the act under which he was convicted expired; and when it was defunct, the ministers considered that it would be ungracious to inflict the penalties it decreed.

From week to week of this session, the outrages in Ireland grew worse. Tithe-collectors were murdered in some places; in others, they were dragged from their beds, and laid in a ditch to have their ears cut off. Five of the police were shot dead at once by a party in ambush. The peasantry declared against pastures, and broke up grass-lands in broad day. Cattle were driven off, lest the owners should pay tithe upon them. A committee of Roman Catholic priests, assembled at Ennis for the promotion of order and peace, broke up with expressions of despair. O'Connell attended some of the trials in May, before a special commission issued for the purpose; and he took the opportunity of making matters worse by addressing the people in speeches, in which he told them that many of the convicted peasants would have been acquitted if fairly tried, but that the juries were afraid to acquit. He charged his hearers with—not crime, but—indiscretion, and advised them to deliver up their arms,

not because the law required it, but because they might thus mollify the government, and purchase leniency for their comrades who had been caught. Towards the end of the month, there was a fight between the police and the peasants, at Castle Pollard, in Westmeath, on occasion of an attempted rescue. The chief constable was knocked down, the police fired, and nine or ten persons were killed. The police were tried for manslaughter, on the prosecution of the government, and O Connell found matter of complaint even in this, after the men were acquitted, alleging that the prosecutions would have been fairer, if left to be instituted by the people. The case had 1
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affair happened at Newtownbarry, in Wexford, which shows what was the position of the Church in the Catholic districts of Ireland at that time. On the 18th of June, which was market day, some cattle were to be sold which had been impounded for tithes payment. The following placard was on the walls of the town: 'Inhabitants, &c., &c.—There will be an end of church plunder, your pot, blanket, and pig will not hereafter be sold by auction, to

while the most of you are starving. Attend to an auction of your neighbour's cattle, seized for tithes by the Rev. Alexander M. Clintock.' The yeomanry were on the alert to assist the police. As soon as the sale began, it merged into a fight, and twelve of the Catholic mob were killed. The consequent law proceedings were baffled and rendered fruitless by trick and timidity, but the affair was never forgotten. Before the year was out, the clergy had become afraid to ask, and their flocks to pay, their dues. As the year closed, soldiery assisted the police, but this only enlarged the area of the fights, and deepened their animosity. On one occasion, five of the Catholics were shot dead by the military, and a fortnight after, when a strong body of police were escorting a tithe-collector, they were summoned to surrender him to popular vengeance, and, on their refusal, twelve of them were slaughtered in a lane, and

more left fearfully wounded. The captain of police, and his son, ten years old, were among the slain; and the pony which the boy rode was stabbed dead. The arms of the assailants were scythes, pitchforks, and bludgeons. A country lad, who appeared about thirteen years old, went from one to another of the prostrate police, and finding that five of them still breathed, made an end of them with his scythe. Such were the things that were done in the name, and for the alleged rights, of the religion which brought 'peace on earth, and goodwill to men.' As for the rovided clergy—the men who were declared to be living in luxury, idleness, and ease, and whose claim to tithe the Irish secretary was advocating in the House, as 'a matter of justice between man and man'—they were living, some in fear of a prison for debt, as they had received no money for many months; many more in fear of their neighbours; and not a few in fear of seeing their children starve before their eyes. Sometimes there would come in by night a pig, or a bag of meal, or a sack of potatoes, from some pitying friend; and by day, the clergyman might be seen digging 'for bare life' in his garden, with his shoeless children about him, while his wife was trying, within the house, whether the tattered clothes would bear another and another patch. Such was the system of 'justice between man and man' which Mr. Stanley would not at this time touch, because it was legal. If this was justice, on every or any hand, what then was injustice?

Some clergymen, however, differed from Mr. Stanley about perseveranee in not touching the tithe system, on account of its justice. The Archbishop of Dublin declared that he spoke the opinion of many of his clerical brethren, as well as his own, when he said, in his evidence before the Lords' committee in this year: 'As for the continuance of the tithe system, it seems to me that it must be at the point of the bayonet—that it must be through a sort of chronic civil war. The ill feelings that have so long existed against it have been embodied in so organised a combination, that I conceive there would be continually breakings out of resistance, which must be kept down by a continuance of very severe measures, such as the government might indeed resolve to have recourse to for once,'

necessary, but would be very unwilling to resort to habitually, so as to keep the country under military government. And the most intelligent persons, and the most experienced I have conversed with, seem to think that nothing else will permanently secure the payment of tithes under the
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the Catholic faith which sent its preachers to house, to preach glad tidings to the poor accepting subsistence from the overflow of good will, but demanding nothing in the name of human law

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In the royal speech, at the opening of the next session, some progress in ministerial opinion was apparent. The king requested the parliament to consider whether some improvement could not be made in the law regarding tithes in Ireland. In after years, there was abundant cause for lamentation that the advance was so small. Committees of inquiry were appointed by both Houses, and the evidence adduced was so astounding as to induce, in a multitude of minds views of the Protestant Church in Ireland, which it is lamentable that the Government did not take heed to and act upon. Many friends of Ireland, as well as the Catholics themselves, desired if tithes were not to be abolished that they should be so appropriated as to yield benefit to the body who paid them, by means of a recurrence to the first principles of tithes. Originally, one-fourth of the tithe was devoted to the maintenance of the poor, and another to that of the places of worship, and it was now proposed, even in petitions to parliament, that this application should be made of the proceeds of tithe and of the lands of the Church in Ireland. Lord Grey took the earliest opportunity of intimating that he should strenuously oppose any proposition which went

to deprive the Church:—that ever impersonal pleader!—‘of her just rights.’ Perhaps the best expression of the widely awakened feeling we have adverted to may be found in the speech of Lord Lyndhurst, who had himself been on the committee in the Commons, regarding the unfortunate anomaly which the Church of Ireland presented. He should not think any plan could lead to a final settlement of the question, which attempted to exclude the consideration of a thorough reform of the Church of Ireland. When he saw the clergy of that Church receiving salaries so disproportionate to the number of Protestants under their care, and when he saw that these salaries were paid chiefly by Roman Catholics, he looked upon the system as pregnant with injury to the cause of religion. He protested, therefore, against the number of the clergy being so disproportioned to their congregations; and he should be glad to see some more just distribution of the revenues of the Church, such as would afford a more adequate provision for the working clergy; and he should also be glad to see a state of things in which no part of the revenues of the Church should be diverted from the use of the Church. He could think no settlement of the existing complaints satisfactory which, with a due regard to all existing interests—for God forbid that they should attempt to strip any man of that which of right belonged to him—did not contemplate the reduction of the Church of Ireland to a condition better proportioned to the wants of the Protestant inhabitants. Such was the view brought out of committee by as thoroughgoing a friend of the Whig administration as sat in the House.

There was now no time to be lost. The Irish recusants knew to a man, that the Royal speech had recommended to parliament a consideration of the tithe system; and they took this for a Royal condemnation of tithe paying. They knew before February was out that the parliamentary committees had reported that nothing would avail short of ‘a complete extinction of tithes’ by commutation for a charge upon the land; and these things were considered warrant enough for a refusal to pay tithe at all, and for persecution of those who did pay. An archdeacon in the neighbourhood of Cashel hoped to establish a commutation

with his parishioners, but now they refused his term came up to him in a field in sight of his own house—a field where several persons were ploughing, who took no notice of the transaction—and stoned him till his head was beaten to pieces. If any resident, pressed by his pastor or by conscience, or by fear of the law, paid the smallest amount of tithe in the most secret manner, his cattle were houghed in the night, or his house was burnt over his head, or his flock of sheep was hunted over a precipice, and lay a crushed heap in the morning. There was a sound of a horn at that time, which made men's flesh creep, whether it was heard by night or day, for those who took upon them to extinguish tithes now boldly assembled their numbers by the sound of the horn, and all who heard it knew that murder or mutilation or arson was going to be perpetrated. Captures, special commissions, and trials were useless. Witnesses dared not give evidence, jurors dared not attend. Magistrates and police were multiplied, but the thing needed was a removal of the grievance, which was real enough, however atrociously avenged. On the very chapels, notices were now posted by the insurgents, and no man dared to take them down. There was indeed no time to lose.

The clergy naturally ceased to demand their dues. But even those of them who had anything to live upon, found that they were not to be left in peace. It seemed to be intended to drive them from the country. If they had cows nobody could be found to milk them. Tradesmen who supplied articles to clergymen, found that nobody would buy of them or even sell to them. Throughout the Catholic rural districts of Ireland the clergy were dependent now upon the government, or upon private

while large country meetings
 ere were passing resolutions,
 were almost alike in matter
 and form, and of which the following is a fair specimen:
 'Resolved, that it is a glaring wrong to compel an impoverished Catholic people to support in pampered luxury the richest clergy in the world—a clergy from whom the Catholics do not experience even the return of common gratitude—a clergy who in times past, opposed to the last the political freedom of the Irish people and a'

the present day are opposed to reform and a liberal scheme of education for their countrymen. 'That ministers of the God of charity should not, by misapplication of all the tithes to their own private uses, thus deprive the poor of their patrimony—nor should ministers of peace adhere with such desperate tenacity to a system fraught with dissension, hatred, and ill-will.' The grievance was real enough—obvious to all who were not blinded by a superstitious worship of man-made law, so as to be insensible to those ulterior laws which it is impious to disregard. There was indeed no time to lose; but, unhappily, there was no man in power free and bold enough broadly to assert the higher laws: and thus the lower was not withdrawn, but only feebly mended; so that the change was found ineffectual. The work had to be done over again; and the chief part of it—the reduction of the Protestant Church to the needs of the Protestant population—has to be done yet, while Ireland appears as far from being tranquillised as ever.

The act, which bears date June 1, 1832, authorises the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to advance £60,000 to the Irish clergy who could prove themselves unable to collect their tithes for the year 1831. Their claims for that year thus became a debt from the Irish people to the government, recoverable by the powers of government. The claim of the clergy to any former arrears was not to be prejudiced by this act, which was designed, for temporary relief, and to interpose the government between the irritated people and the clergy. The government was to levy the arrears. Many in the House asked at once whether the government would be able to levy the arrears—defeated as it had been in endeavouring to aid the clergy to do so. The bill was proffered under a pledge from government that a tithe commutation should be instituted, which alone could justify the temporary measure of an advance to the clergy. The act passed rapidly through both Houses, and became law on the 1st of June. It was July before the further and permanent measures of government regarding tithes were brought forward; and, as the minister declared, the session was too far advanced to admit of the passage of them all. They were three. The first rendered the exist

recommended a consideration of 'a final adjustment of tithes' in Ireland, and in his remarks on the motion for the address, the Duke of Wellington had said, that the Irish clergy were in precisely the same miserable situation at present that they had been in before the passage of measures for their relief, and he considered that 'that most deserving race of men' was in danger of utter destruction—a statement which was not contradicted by Lord Grey in his reply to the duke's speech. After two years of experiment and debate, the Irish secretary was now compelled to call the attention of parliament to a new measure, but it was to be four years yet before this single point was settled. At the outset of his speech, Mr Littleton made an avowal which might prudently have been taken to heart before, so as to save years of 'chronic civil war,' much misery of mind and the loss of many lives. Mr Littleton begged the House 'to bear in mind, that the statute book had been loaded with enactments by the legislatures of both countries for the purpose of giving the proprietors of tithes effectual means to enforce the law. The whole of those enactments had proved ineffectual. Many of them of the most severe description, extending even to capital punishment, had proved utterly useless.' No one could wonder at this who heard the statement that followed of the vexatious incidence of the Irish tithe. Owing to the extreme subdivision of land, the amounts were small—sometimes literally beyond expression, and in such cases, the debtor was one who had no money, or ready means of payment, and to whom it was exasperating to be called on, from time to time for a religious tax, so paltry, and yet so inconvenient and so hurting to his conscience. In a parish in Carlow, the sum owing by 222 defaulters was a farthing each. 'A return of the actual number of defaulters whose debts were under a farthing, and rise by farthings up to a shilling would exhibit a very large proportion of the gross number. In some instances, the charge upon the land amounted to only seven parts of a farthing. When he informed the committee that many of the smaller sums were payable by three or four persons some idea might be formed of the difficulty of collecting tithes in Ireland. The highest

aggregate charge was against those who owed individually about 2*d.*; and he would then beg to remind the committee, that it was not so much the sum as the situation of the individual, that rendered these charges oppressive. Twopence to one might be as great an impost as £2 to another. There was another great severity connected with the question of tithes. They were not simple. One proprietor alone did not come to the poor man to demand his tithes; but many, whose interests were irreconcilable and adverse, fastened upon him. There were different kinds of tithes—the vicarial, rectorial, and impropriate—all often fastening on the same individual, who was bound to meet the separate demands of each tithe-owner. The opposition to tithes, then, though it might receive an impulse from agitation, was not to be wholly traced to that source. There was a deeper source in the severity of the impost itself.' This was all very true; the disaster was, that it had not been known sooner. Such had been the state of the case during preceding years of legislation; during years when the Irish were called purely ungrateful, because the Emancipation Act did not tranquillise them. A quieter procedure on their part would have been wiser and more virtuous; but there was also little wisdom in the expectation that quietness would rise up and spread among an excitable and long-injured people, while a grievance like this was ignored by a government which called itself liberal, and friendly to Ireland. Now that the ministers had at last discovered that they had grievance, as well as agitation, to deal with, the method in which they proposed to deal with it was this—that all compositions for tithes should cease from the 1st of next November; and that the amount should be paid in the form of an annual land-tax to the king, who should cause provision to be made out of it, in land or money, for the clergy and other tithe-owners. This land-tax was to be redeemable. Mr. O'Connell, and other members from Ireland, vehemently opposed this proposal, reasonably alleging that it would merely establish the same impost under another name. They did not succeed now in delaying the introduction of the bill; but on the 30th of July when it was in committee, Mr. O'Connell had his revenge

for the moment. He objected to the proposal that government should recover the amount of the tithes, said that they would never succeed in taming the Irish people by pretending to throw salt on the tails of the landlords, and moved that the tithes should be made payable immediately from the landlords to the clergy, after being reduced 40 per cent. This motion was in the form of an amendment to the third clause of the bill, and it was carried by a very large majority—the numbers being 82 to 33.

After taking time to consider, the ministers determined to go on with the bill. They never would have proposed a large reduction in the incomes of the Irish clergy, but as the House of Commons had declared itself broadly in favour of a reduction and it would facilitate the passing of the bill. And the thing

and thankful to receive such a measure in order to secure the security, punctuality, and peaceableness which would now attend the payments. The lord chancellor put it to the Peers, when the bill came before them, whether any one of them deriving a nominal income of £100,000 from his estates, would not be very glad to receive in gold, on a certain day, without a chance of disappointment, £77,500, with a release from all disputes, pains, and penalties, from bad or impoverished tenants. If their own bishops were to be believed, however, the great majority of the Irish clergy were hostile to the measure. In that case—if they were still able and disposed to stand out, under the risk of Irish outrage, for the full hire of their spiritual service—the compassion of parliament was thrown away upon them, and that of the nation must be reserved for the suffering minority of the clergy, who were ready to sacrifice something for peace and to avoid causing their brother to offend. But even these more high minded sufferers were not to be aided yet. On the motion for the second reading in the Lords Lord Ellenborough moved that the bill should be read that day six months, and threw it out by a majority of 67 out of 311 votes by proxy or present. The Bishops who were in favour of the measure were those of Derry, Chichester, and Norwich. On the other side were

the Archbishops of Canterbury and Cashel, and nineteen bishops. The division showed that the spiritual peers were quite of Lord Melbourne's opinion—which was earnestly expressed—as to the unspeakable importance of the measure; only they took an opposite view of it. It was but for a short time, for within five years they had to yield; and meanwhile, their conduct, whether attributed to pride, to greed, to enmity to the Catholic Irish, or merely to such narrowness of view as ill becomes legislators, went as far to impair the dignity and influence of the Church among those who watched the case, as their success in throwing out the Reform Bill three years before.

Thus ended in failure the endeavour of the Whig administration to deal with the Irish tithe question: a difficulty so radical as to require radical treatment, as has been since practically acknowledged. The effect of merely tampering with it was very disastrous: the government was foiled; the clergy sank into a deeper slough of popular hatred; and the Irish Church lost every year more of its dignity in the eyes of its own well-wishers.

The great question of its preservation in any form had now for some time been discussed; and so discussed that it was necessary for the administration of the time—whatever it might be—to take up the argument. Everybody knew that the chief incitement to the repeal agitation was the hope of getting rid of the Church. The Tories were disposed to defy the repeal cry, and all agitation, and to uphold the dues of the Church, even to the last penny of church-cess, and the smallest fraction of a farthing of tithe. A large number of the Liberal party were for so abating the Irish Church as to throw its maintenance upon its own members, and reduce its ministers to some proportion to their flocks. The endeavour of the administration was to keep a middle course between these extreme parties. In 1833, the government proposed to empower a board of ecclesiastical commissioners, by act of parliament, to make extensive changes in the Irish Church, which, it was hoped, would be so manifestly for the advantage of all parties as to secure a sufficient support in parliament.

It appears, by a census purposely taken in 1834, that the proportion of the numbers of the Protestant Church

in Ireland to that of Catholics and Dissenters was thus. The Catholics were 6436,060, the members of the Established Church were 853,160, and the Dissenters, 665,540—that is, while the Catholics were above 80 per cent, the Church Protestants were just above 10, and the Dissenters 8, per cent. The revenues of this Church were £865,525—above £1 per head.

There were nearly 1400 benefices—of a single Protestant, twenty had more than one, and contained under five and twenty. In 157 benefices, no service was performed, the incumbent being an absentee. There were four archbishops and eighteen bishops for this little flock. It was impossible that such a Church could long be endured in a country so peopled, and the reductions now proposed by government were very considerable.

Two archbishops and ten bishops were to be the list of their number. Their dioceses were to be united with others as opportunity arose, and on the death of the primate, the income of his see was to be reduced from £14,500 to £10,000. Deans and chapters were no longer to enjoy dignity without work. They were to be abolished, or to undertake the cure of souls. The system could not be endured no longer.

The appointment of ministers who had not been so appointed years before. The first fruits, which were a trouble and grievance producing little return, were to be abolished, and replaced by a tax on benefices and episcopal incomes rising in its percentage from the smallest benefice not under £200 a year, to the vast incomes of some of the bishops, the humble livings paying 3 per cent, and any episcopal income exceeding £1,500 a year, 15 per cent. It was expected that by the sum thus raised—about £69,000 a year—a sufficient provision would be secured for the repair of churches and conducting of the service, so that the tithes, which were a great grievance, might be abolished, its amount being

replaced by a sum which lasted for a course of years, and was to be renewed hereafter. In opening the scheme of government for altering—to the advantage of all other parties without injury to the clergy—the terms for letting the lands of the

loud as it was, about confiscation of the property of the Church

The Peers were believed to intend to make a vigorous rally against this very important bill, with whose passage the existence of the ministry was understood to be bound up. On a recent occasion, when the Reform Bill had been in danger, a well timed vote of the Commons of confidence in ministers had been found of service and it was now proposed again to intimate to the Peers that the Commons had a very decided will in regard to the reformation of the Irish Church. Sir J. Wrottesley after due notice and in opposition to the entreaties of ministers, moved for a call of the House on the 17th of July—the day of the second reading in the Lords and he was nearly successful—125 voting with him and 160 against him.

The opposition in the Lords was strong, but not effectual. The support given to the measure was somewhat grudging, but it was sufficient—no doubt for the reason assigned, in a few remarkable words by the Earl of Wicklow for his share in carrying the bill through. 'He could not be taken to be a supporter of ministers because he meant to vote for their present measure. He conceived that every act of theirs bore upon it the stamp of revolution—the present no less than others but he would for that very reason vote for the present bill because if he did not, he might on a future occasion—like him with the books of the Sibyl—have to pay a higher price for less value.' The Duke of Wellington who had more reason than most men to know what to dread from Irish discontent supported the bill, on condition of certain amendments and all went well except that ministers were outvoted on the point of the disposal of the revenues of suspended appointments. By a majority of two it was decided that such revenues should be applied to the repairs of the church and globe-house and then any surplus

on the 30th of July, by a majority of 54 out of 216 votes and in the midst of a vigorous recording of protests by alarmed peers. Of these protests the most remarkable one

the cabinet about the power of the state over any new revenues of the Irish Church was of less consequence, as the chief of the minority—who called such a doctrine a plan of confiscation—was now occupied with colonial affairs. The difference might for some time longer have caused nothing more serious than preparatory discussion, but for the subject of the Irish Church being brought up by Mr Ward, member for St Albans, on the 27th of May, in a motion for the reduction of its establishment, as it exceeded the spiritual wants of the Protestant population, and as it is the right of the state to regulate the distribution of church property, in such manner as parliament may determine. The motion was seconded by Mr Grote, one of the members for London who had scarcely begun to address the House when Lord Althorp received some information which induced him, at the close of Mr Grote's speech, to request the House to adjourn the debate for the present Tuesday to the Monday following. On this question—of the right of the state over any proceeds of church property—the administration could not bear touch. The news which had reached Lord Althorp was that the leaders of the minority in the cabinet—Mr Stanley and Sir James Graham—had resigned. They hurried on their court dresses, and gone to the king, surrender office. Their example was immediately followed by Lord Ripon and the Duke of Richmond. The single Tory, and two 'Canningites,' were now gone, and the ministry being wholly Liberal—or supposed to be so—could henceforth work more freely. Such was the speculation in the House of Commons in Lombard Street, as in Ireland. Lord Auckland went to the Admiralty, Mr Spring Rice to the Colonial Office and the privy seal was held by Lord Carlisle. Mr Poulett Thomson at the same time became president, instead of vice-president, of the Board of Trade and the Marquis of Conyngham succeeded the Duke of Richmond at the Post-office.

The opponents of a liberal policy knew what was the weakest point of the administration—of this administration as of several that had preceded, the timidity and deficient ability of the king. They lost no time in attacking this weak point. The day after the debate had been

so strangely interrupted was the king's birthday festival; and the Irish bishops went up to the throne with an address, signed most numerous by Irish prelates and clergy, deprecating changes in the establishment. Whether the King's mind was overfull of the subject before, so as to flow out at the first touch of his feelings, or whether any circumstance at the moment tempted him away from the ordinary practice in replying to such addresses, there is no saying; but he poured out a set of sentiments, ideas, and promises, which placed himself and his government in a position of great embarrassment, and grievously aggravated the prevalent excitement. This extraordinary speech began with the words: 'I now remember you have a right to require of me to be resolute in defence of the Church.' The king went on to assure the eagerly listening clergy that the Church of England and Ireland should be preserved unimpaired by him; and that, if any of the inferior arrangements in the discipline of the Irish Church required amendment—which, however, he greatly doubted—he hoped it would be left to the bishops to correct them, without interference on any hand. He was completing his sixty-ninth year, and must prepare to leave the world with a conscience clear in regard to the maintenance of the Church.' 'I have spoken more strongly than usual,' he said in conclusion, with tears running down his cheeks, 'because of unhappy circumstances that have forced themselves upon the observation of all. The threats of those who are enemies of the Church make it the more necessary for those who feel their duty to that Church to speak out. The words which you hear from me are, indeed, spoken by my mouth, but they flow from my heart.' He had, somewhat unnecessarily, assured his hearers that his speech was not a prepared one, got by heart, but uttered from the feeling of the moment. As such an indiscretion must be infinitely embarrassing to his ministers, the utmost pains were taken to scatter this speech through the country without the delay of an hour, that the House of Commons and the ministers might be overawed before the renewal of the debate on Mr. Ward's motion, the next Monday.

Meantime, the ministers did not resign. They had had experience before of the weakness of the king, and did not

think it right to give up the country to be governed by the leaders of the minority, under a sovereign who could not help agreeing with the last speaker, and who was always impetuous on behalf of his latest impression. The ministers did not resign, but the general conviction of their insecurity in office was so strong that Mr Ward declined to withdraw his motion, saying that the assertion of its principle was made doubly important by the probability that men would presently be in power who would need such a check from the legislature. During the week, it had become known that Lord Grey had declared that he had neither nerve nor spirits for the vigorous reconstruction of the cabinet, and that his predominant wish—to have Lord Durham there—had been overborne by the lord chancellor and Lord Lansdowne. Two addresses to the premier had been pre-

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Lord Grey, the other cabinet had become known, expressive of dissatisfaction at the discountenance of popular principles in the new appointments. The ministerial papers themselves openly warned the nation that the government was only 'pitched up,' to get through the session, and that, before the year was out, unless the matter were looked to in time, the nation would be at the mercy of the court, which was itself in the hands of the Church.

Under such circumstances, Mr Ward refused to withdraw his motion. He was probably aware that Mr Innes was about to quote a letter from Lord Anglesea to the premier, in which he insisted on a large reform of the Church as absolutely essential to the peace of Ireland, and he could quote as a sanction to his motion the words of Lord Althorp himself, a few months before. 'If, by any act of the legislature, now value can be given to any property belonging to the Church that new value will not properly belong to the Church because it is an acquisition dependent on such act of the legislature, and may be appropriated immediately to the use of the state.' Mr Ward's anxiety was to reassert this principle, and pitiable was the position of Lord Althorp, if he was really about to evade that declaration of his own. His position was

pitiable. He was wont to say, with his good-humoured smile, that it was hard upon him to force him to be a statesman, when nature had made him a grazier; and the lot was doubly hard which threw him into a cabinet where there was no power of will, no enlightened union, no combined working faculty, to sustain the efficiency and dignity of the government when the *appui* of popular will and popular dictation was withdrawn. Lord Grey was aged, worn, and weary; Lord Lansdowne was for taking a middle course, and evading difficulties, on all occasions whatever. Mr. Stanley had aggravated all existing difficulties, and created many new ones, by his porcupine demeanour; and the whole administration was kept in perpetual hot water by the intrigues and indiscretions of the lord chancellor. Thus disunited among themselves, struggling in a slough of difficulties, where no one could help another, and the people withdrawing from them further and further every day, they contradicted themselves and each other, gave pledges and forgot or dropped them, strove in the first place always to evade difficulties which they had not faculty or influence to overcome, had long lost their popularity, and stood a spectacle of weakness to the weak sovereign himself. Thus, Lord Althorp's position on the evening of the 2nd of June was truly a pitiable one.

By prodigious exertion, a plan for a commission of inquiry respecting the Irish Church had been framed, and commissioners found, by the Monday morning. In the afternoon, a council of the supporters of the cabinet was held in Downing Street, at which the procedure of the evening was determined on. Mr. Ward was to be outvoted at any risk, as his success would bring on a decision of the perilous question about church-property, cause the dissolution of the ministry, and, no doubt, a general election, in which the Church and State question would be the watch-word. The supporters of the ministry knew that their constituents were in a mood which it would not be pleasant to encounter; and they were thankful to learn that government had provided a means of escape from either affirming or denying Mr. Ward's principle.

When they went to the House, they found it surrounded by a crowd, and so filled that it was difficult for them to

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When they went to the House, they found it surrounded by a crowd, and so filled that it was difficult for them to

make their way to their seats. Mr Ward's speech was brief courteous, but firm. Lord Althorp then announced the intention of the government to issue a special commission of inquiry, composed of laymen, which should visit every parish in Ireland, and report its population, under the heads of the three religions, its spiritual provisions, and its ecclesiastical revenues. The Church party regarded the measure as merely a preparation for 'confiscation,' and the Liberals saw no occasion for further evidence on a point of fact which was undisputed, while the principle which was the point of dispute was passed over in silence, and nothing gained by this device but more time for the government to shuffle on. Lord Althorp declared that the commission was in fact already issued, that he saw no necessity for parliament to pronounce on the principle of Mr Ward's motion, and that he should move the previous question. This he did, and obtained an overwhelming majority—of 276 in a House of 516.

In the other House, the premier had to run the gauntlet between the lines of objectors to the new commission, and

another commission, before it had had time to show how it would do its work. The true answer to this would have been, that the ministers were as far from dreaming of such a thing as anybody else, till recent perplexities had put it into their heads. From this moment the ministers were incessantly called on for explanations of their views on this great subject of the appropriation of church revenues by the state, and on different occasions they expressed themselves with varying degrees of explicitness. On the 23rd of June, Mr O'Connell moved an instruction to the committee on the Tithe Bill, that whatever surplus remained after the wants of the Protestant Church were duly provided for, should be applied to purposes of general utility—which he explained to mean not the making of roads and bridges, but purposes of charity and of education in whose benefits the needs of all faiths should share alike. On this occasion, Lord John Russell and Lord Althorp

declared their agreement with Mr. O'Connell, if the ground were taken, that these purposes were of a religious character, leaving open the question whether such funds could be applied—by not only legal right, for that was clear, but by moral and equitable right—to secular purposes. The question was thus transferred to a new ground—the shaking bog of metaphysics, on which it would be for ever impossible for any legislature to decide and act. It is no subject for legislation whether charity and education are religious or secular works; nor can it be settled whether parliament, having a clear legal right to dispose of any funds, must have a proved moral and equitable right also; nor how a moral and equitable right is provable, or even assignable, otherwise than by affirming or repealing the legal right. The only thing clear was that nothing could be actually done in the matter, for the relief of the Irish Catholics, and the satisfaction of the discontented throughout the kingdom, while the war was one of metaphysical distinctions.

The whole bearing and importance of this question in 1834 can hardly be understood without taking a view of the condition of religion and the Church in England at that date. This will presently come before us, when we shall have to show what were the views and aims of the Whig administration in this direction. The story of what they achieved during their present term of office is nearly concluded; and we see them now in a position of perplexity and weakness which it is clear they could not long maintain. They must obtain more strength or sink.

In the preceding year, a bill had been passed which conferred extraordinary powers^d on the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, for putting down the fearful disturbances of that country. Among the provisions of that bill were two of eminent importance; that of suspending the ordinary course of justice in favour of martial law, and of prohibiting political meetings and discussions. The bill was reported by the Irish authorities to have worked well; and to the premier's mind it was clear that it ought to be renewed on its expiration in August 1834, with the omission only of the portion relating to martial law. To others, however, the expediency was not so clear; and it appears that the same want of confidence between the members of the

government, or other causes of disunion, existed in regard to this as to other measures, for it is scarcely possible to doubt, among much conflicting evidence, that up to a certain day, it was not the intention of government to renew the Coercion Bill entire, except as to martial law, but to leave out that portion relating to public meetings, which most exasperated the wrath of Mr O'Connell. Mr Littleton, the Irish secretary, certainly relied upon this, and he sent for Mr O'Connell to assure him of this agreeable prospect, hoping, as Mr Littleton himself avowed, to deter O'Connell from agitating on occasion of the pending Wexford election. The communication was made under the seal of secrecy. It is hard to know whether to wonder most at the simplicity which supposed that O'Connell was to be trusted with a political secret, or at the folly of imagining that political secrets of such weight can be kept, except among confederates. Mr O'Connell explained how he conceived himself relieved from obligation to secrecy, and revealed the awkward fact that Mr. Littleton had told him that the Irish government was opposed to the renewal of the Coercion Bill. The agitator had immediately caused the repeal candidate for Wexford to retire, and, when it was too late, he received a message from Mr Littleton, that the government intended to enforce the whole Coercion Bill, except the part relating to martial law. How

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the other House, the premier and the lord chancellor declared, the next evening that they knew nothing of any negotiations between the Irish secretary and Mr. O'Connell, and that they did not believe that any such had taken place. Great must have been their astonishment when they read the secretary's own statement of the transaction, which was not so materially different from Mr. O'Connell's as to exempt him from the charge of 'gross indiscretion'.

the plea did not improve his case. The general impression was, that he had been sincere, but most unwise; that he ought to have resigned office, on such a conviction of indiscretion: and that the affairs of the nation could no longer be safely confided to an administration so ill combined, and whose proceedings were so desultory and immature.

To the premier, the affair must have been deeply wounding; and it proved to be fatal to his political life. He was aware, as we know by Lord Althorp's explanations, that a valuable minority in his cabinet were of the same opinion with the lord-lieutenant—namely, that the clauses against public meetings in Ireland need not be re-enacted; and that this minority had yielded the point only to avoid breaking up the cabinet: and now that Mr. O'Connell had been admitted by the Irish secretary to a peep at this state of things—he, of all men!—what remained of dignity or efficiency to his government? When he moved the second reading of the Coercion Bill on the 4th of July, he spoke low and hurriedly. His son-in-law, Lord Durham, opposed the re-enactment of the clauses against political meetings, in words as few and moderate as his honest convictions permitted; and his opposition was received with a good grace by the minister; but it was one of the incidents which wrought against the tottering government.

This was on Friday night. On Saturday, Mr. Littleton tendered his resignation. It was not accepted—indignant as Lord Grey had declared himself about the transaction with Mr. O'Connell. It was supposed that there was little hope of filling up the vacancy, in a perilous crisis, with an able man who was sure of a seat in the House—so deep was now the unpopularity of the Whig ministry. But on Monday Lord Althorp resigned, and would not be persuaded to remain in office. High as his character stood for honesty and courage, he was aware that it would not sustain him under the odium of carrying through the Commons such a Coercion Bill as he was now universally known to have condemned in council. He persisted in retiring; and, then Lord Grey saw no other course than resigning too. By Lord Althorp's retirement, he lost his best colleague; the Coercion Bill would have no authority now, if even he could pass it; and if he relinquished it,

his belief was well known to be that Ireland could not be governed without it. On Tuesday he presented his resignation to the king.

On Wednesday evening, the last act was to be done. The old statesman now in his seventy first year, had to take leave of power. He was worn and weakened by the toils and responsibilities of office, and he was conscious of having fallen somewhat behind the time—earnest as he was in saying that the times went too fast, and not he too slow. The close of his term of power was mortifying, if not ignoble, in its character—affording but too much incitement to the taunts and vindictiveness of adversaries—taunts and triumphs which were not spared even on this occasion. Twice he rose and murmured a few words stopped, and sank down upon his seat. The House cheered him, but he seemed unable to rise. The Duke of Wellington occupied a few minutes in presenting petitions, in order to give Lord Grey time to recover himself. When the old man rose a third time he spoke feebly and tremulously, but he gathered strength as he proceeded, and so spoke as to interest all feelings, of friend or foe except where, as in the cases of the Duke of Wellington and the lord chancellor, an overpowering fear for the Church and other institutions, and personal regards, hardened the heart and closed the mind against reverent emotions and clear convictions, which were shared by all others who had the privilege to hear. The duke naturally fired up at the implied charge of vacillation against his brother, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, in regard to the Coercion Bill, and it was natural that, with a brotherly feeling for Lord Wellesley's responsibilities, he should vehemently assert that Lord Grey's resignation, being unnecessary, was a desertion of his sovereign, but the rest of the speech, in which he reviewed the measures of Lord Grey's government, was nothing short of malignant. One circumstance which could not be overlooked at the time, and cannot pass unnoticed by the reader of our day is its perfect likeness, in conception and spirit, to Lord Grey's speech against Canning which fixed the deepest arrow of the slight under which he sank. Lord Grey was less unhappy than Canning in being present to hear what was said of him, instead of

learning it from others and being unable to reply; and again, the duke had not power so to express himself as to wound so deeply as Lord Grey; and thus the retribution was not severe, but it must have sorely embittered the parting moment. It is bitter even to the impartial reader to witness these displays of infirmity—of that deep-seated infirmity which weakens the moral force of three such men as these—rendering them unable, not only to appreciate each other's course, but to wait with patience to see the results—asking Time to be the arbiter, who will be the arbiter in spite of them. The lord chancellor's speech drew off the hearers from the painful feelings excited by the duke, or gave others in their place. There was abundant laudation of Lord Grey—such as it required courage to offer, face to face, to such a man; but with it a clear rebuke to him for resigning; and upon this followed a sentence or two which, grave as was the occasion, caused shouts of laughter—there being few present who did not know something of the state of the king's mind towards the ministers, who were so formidably reforming the Church against his will. The lord chancellor 'felt that he should not discharge his duty if, at all sacrifice of his comfort—at all abandonment of his own ease—at the destruction, if so it might be, of his own peace of mind, he did not stand by that gracious monarch and that country whose support—whose cordial and hearty support—he had received during the three years and a half of which he had been a member of the government. After having said this, he need not add that he had not tendered his resignation.' When the laughter permitted him to be again heard, he asked: 'Did their lordships think that there was anything very peculiarly merry or amusing in being minister at the present time?' No: in the contempt into which this administration had long been falling, there was nothing that was not painful to all sound-hearted men, of every party.

Lord Grey, in his speech, requested a fair judgment from those who thought he had committed errors, and did not anticipate any charge of indifference to principle or deviation from honour. He might well feel this security. Brighter honour never shone through any statesman's life: a nobler consistency never crowned a statesman's career.

On this not a syllable need be said, for with him, through out his life the word answered to the thought, and he possessed the deep secret of high honour, in other people's feelings being to him as his own. His honour was not of the nice and sensitive character which springs from egotism, and has therefore a dash of cowardice in it: it was of the brave and healthy sort which needs no special care but flourishes best by thinking seldom of itself. The only approach to a doubt on this part of Lord Grey's character was caused by his profuse distribution of office among his relations, and he thought, with great simplicity that he had disposed of this complaint in his speech: this night, by asking whether these many relations did not do their work well and declaring that the family connection generally had grown not richer, but poorer, since they came into office. Could such a man overlook the truth that it is unfair to exclude others from office by filling departments with members of one family, and detrimental to the interests of the state to have in its departments an overruling cast of ideas and feelings? Did I not know how strong was the national response to Canning

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'errors' with which he anticipated that he might be charged. And it is difficult to charge him with any other for the rest was not error but incapacity, an induced incapacity, with which he was afflicted—and the nation through him—through the evil operation of aristocratic station uncorrected by timely political labour, and the extensive interferences which are a privilege attendant upon it. He knew no more of the British people than he did of the Spaniards or the Germans. He did not see the scope of his own Reform Bill, and could not bear the consequences of his own greatest act—the friction of the aim of his whole life. When he had himself taken up the House of Lords in his hand, broken its fastenings and set it down in a lower place, he insisted that it was still where it was before, and he 'would stand by his order'

against any who declared to the contrary. He governed with a feeble and uncertain hand, because he could not freely throw his mind into the common stock with his colleagues, or induce them to do the same. He respected them—valued them—graced them—but could not make common cause with them. And he fell by insisting on coercing speech in Ireland, when the ruler of Ireland offered to govern that country without a power so stringent, and his own 'best arm' in the cabinet, and some other valuable members, were opposed to the act of despotism. It was needless to protest that he acted from his conscience. Nobody doubted his doing so, in all his political acts. The question was whether his conscience was illumined by the best lights of intelligence. When the grand inquisitor declared that he acted from conscientious love of his victims; when Francis of Austria and Metternich declared that the Spielberg prisoners were tortured, body and mind, for the sake of the nation; when the Duke of York pleaded conscience for his intended rigour towards the Catholics—nobody doubted the sincerity of the men. The question was whether their consciences could be permitted to overrule those of a multitude of other men. And so, in a much milder way, was it now in the case of Lord Grey. The question was, whether speech was to be coerced in Ireland because Lord Grey conscientiously believed it ought. Mr. Littleton expressed in the Commons, on this same night, a remorse which it was painful to witness for the act by which he had compelled the decision. It was natural that he should do so, but there were few or none who thought, in a little while, that the event was to be lamented. It was not only that the cabinet could not have stood for any length of time; it was that the manner of Lord Grey's fall, however mortifying to his friends and his party, and pathetic in all eyes, was instructive, alike as a comment on the past and a warning for the future. And for himself—his lot was not hard, though less brilliant than it had been. He was nowhere blamed for any fault but that which perhaps he had no great objection to be charged with—an excess of the aristocratic spirit. He retired, amidst universal, if not unmingled sympathy and respect, to enjoy the repose which his years required, in

the bosom of a family by whom he was adored. He had had the last experience of civic glory; and he was now to find how much more he enjoyed the serene household glories of a home like his.

CHAPTER X.

THE period under review, memorable on many accounts, is for nothing more so than for the perturbations of its religious life. How long the crisis might have been deferred, and what would have been its issue, if the war had been protracted, it is impossible to divine. It was after seventeen years of peace, and with the reforms of a peace-period for its proximate cause, that it actually occurred, and sooner or later it must have occurred, under any conditions of the secular life of the nation. As it was, the perturbation was so extraordinary, and to those who were timid by constitution or by creed so fearful, that it seemed as if the fountains of the deeps of men's minds were broken up. Amidst the deluge of conflicting theologies and wills, the administration and parliament drifted helplessly and blindly, and it was clear that no good steering was to be expected from them, nor any discovery of dry land where the struggling minds of men might find a footing and rest. Such crises are, as the clear-sighted of all parties admit, an inevitable consequence of a union of Church and State. The firmest friends of that union admit this without hesitation, while declaring the advantages of such an arrangement to preponderate

over the occasional inconvenience and risk. As time passes on, and those changes are wrought which never cease, the terms of the union must be remodelled, and newly risen questions must be settled, while it is quite certain that the ministers of the state will not be able fully to enter into the views of those of the Church; and the ministers of the Church must inevitably despise and be shocked at the statesman's views of religious claims and affairs.

When the critical period of indispensable change arrives, all difficulties are aggravated—in the instance of England and her Establishment—by the perpetual existence of three parties within that Church, whose views and habit of mind differ too widely to admit of a peaceable co-existence for any length of time in a Protestant Establishment; though the Romish Church is able, in such a case, to include and occupy them all, without controversy and confusion. This weighty fact has been adverted to before, in connection with the first manifestation of the great disturbance which was now to reach its height for the time—that is, when the controversy on the Peterborough questions took place in 1821. That first instance of revived High-Church domination over faith took the nation by surprise; the oppressed clergy petitioned parliament for relief and justice; almost every voice that was raised at all was raised against the claim of the bishop; and there was one circumstance in the case that was never forgotten, and will never be forgotten—that no bishop but the one appealed against opened his lips upon the subject, though every endeavour was used in the House of Lords to make the prelates speak. Clear as it was to all that they were in parliament for the very purpose of guiding the state in such affairs as this, their constrained and ignoble silence showed that they were unprepared for the great controversy, just then opening, between the claims of the Church and the Protestant doctrine of liberty of opinion.

Twelve years elapsed between that discussion in parliament and the reduction of the Irish Church by the administration of Lord Grey. In the interval, rumours had spread of the rise of a sect within the Church, whose head-quarters were at Oxford; as there had been rumours

members in filling the pulpits of the Establishment with devout Calvinistic ministers, who caused a powerful religious revival among the aristocratic and wealthy classes of society. The Oxford movement was of a widely different character, representing as it did the opposite party in the Church from that of the Simeons, Wilborforces, and Thorntons. The rumours which stole abroad told of observances which excited no little surprise, while some who heard were amused, and others seriously grieved and alarmed. It was scarcely conceivable that Laud and his ways should have risen up again among us in the nineteenth century, yet those who had seen and heard what went on within the University of Oxford told of priestly claims, and obedience of novices, of homage to the memory of Charles the Martyr, of devout reception and study of ancient tradition and the Christian fathers, and a passionate disparagement of the Reformation and Protestantism, of exclusive reliance on the sacraments of the Church, of the most frequent possible celebration of its services, of the setting up of oratories and of crosses, of scrupulosity about garments and postures and fasts, and even of auricular confession. Where so much was said, something must be true, and it was not long before the Oxford men published to the world ample evidence that some strange things indeed were true.

On occasion of the redaction of the Irish Church, the Oxford party believed the time to be come for them to preach their principles, and save, if it yet might be, the Church and the nation. They denied the rightful power of the government to touch the constitution and revenues of the Church, and they apprehended that parliament would gratify the earnest desire of a large body of Church men, in reforming the Book of Common Prayer; through a commission of state appointment. To avert such a desecration, and all further spoliation of the Church, and to obtain perhaps a restitution of what had been taken from her, the Oxford sect resolved to work upon the public

mind in all directions—through the press, as well as by means of the pulpit and private exhortation, and vigorous proselyting among the young. According to their own authorised statement, delivered by Mr. Perceval in a letter to the editor of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, their first business was to enforce their tenets through a set of tracts, which gave to the sect, for some years, the name of Tractarians. The leading doctrine of these tracts is that of apostolical succession. The only way of salvation is declared to be through the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and the only way in which that sacrament can be administered is by the hands of the successors of the apostles, with whom is deposited this sole power of communicating the means of salvation. The necessity of Episcopacy is thus declared, and not merely its expediency; and from this follows a train of doctrines which do not need more than a slight indication. As the Scriptures do not contain any account of the institution of Episcopacy by Christ, some other and co-equal authority must be adduced; and tradition is that co-ordinate authority. Hence follows the exclusive reverence for the Christian fathers, as the historians and registrars of tradition. Hence, too, the reverence for many of the forms and observances of Romanism which, being traced to an Episcopal foundation, cannot be refused. Hence, too, the indignation and horror at the interference of government with church funds and offices; and an expressed willingness that the Church should, as soon as possible, be separated from the state. Of these tracts, Dr. Arnold wrote in April 1834: 'They are strenuously puffed by the *British Magazine*, and strenuously circulated among the clergy; of course, I do not suppose that any living man out of the clergy is in the slightest danger of being influenced by them, except so far as they may lead him to despise the clergy for countenancing them.' The fact did not answer to this anticipation. If the Tractarian clergy might soon be counted by hundreds, their followers, and the diligent readers of the *Tracts for the Times*, presently amounted to tens of thousands; and there is nothing to wonder at in this, if we remember the proneness of the human mind to rely upon authority, and to seek safety in definite obser-

vances Far on in the nineteenth century, therefore the zealous Protestants of the empire saw spectacles which filled them with anger and dismay—on the one hand, a striking increase of the Catholic body, from the earnestness with which noble and wealthy Catholics applied themselves to use the present crisis for the good of their Church, and on the other hand, the rise and spread of a body, within

from our own University of Oxford, who were always so like of men like out rumours the difference

of one or another Tractarian having gone over to Romanism—rumours which were highly resented, and proved in the *Tracts* to be necessarily false, and for a while they were not true, but, in no long time, a conversion to Romanism began within the university, and spread so undeniably, that the kindred character of the principles of Romanism and Tractarianism has for some time ceased to be disputed. During this period, then, one of the three parties in the Church was succeeding in substituting for the previous idea of religion another whose popular spread made some good men's hearts fail them for fear. Theology in the priesthood, and unlimited obedience in the flock, were now to be the idea of a Christian Church. In many a church there was contention about wearing the surplice about old and now or revived methods of celebrating the service, about the frequency of the administration of the communion, and other points which the bishops were sorely perplexed as pressed to solve. As a body, the bishops showed themselves weak and still unprepared. There was no unity of view or action among them on the occurrence of this great schism in the Church, and the multitude added contempt of this weakness to their indignation at the conduct of the spiritual peers about the way in which they sought to conceal their feelings. The Bishop of London was mobbed at the door with brickbats called stalls, and opprobrious words to his extreme consternation. The Bishop of London had a year before been prevented from preaching at St Anne, Soho, by an in-

timation that when he rose in the pulpit, the larger part of the congregation would leave their seats. Much of this was political feeling; but it was aggravated, and not dispersed, by the irresolute and uncombined conduct of the prelates under the appeal of the Tractarians. The heads of the Church were evidently not ready for the crisis of the Church.

The strongest popular sympathy, in connection with this party, was with a clergyman here and there who fell a victim to his sense of duty in enforcing his rights—not from the love of lucre, but the fear of surrendering any of the prerogatives of his function. One of these, the Rev. Irvine Whitty, rector of a parish in Ireland, was shot after having brought forty-five suits for the recovery of tithes, at one sessions. Another was a clergyman in the south of England, who enforced his tithes, under a sense of duty to his Church, to a point which maddened his poor neighbours; and the general feeling was fearfully expressed by a man who shot him dead from behind a haycock in his own field. The popular resentment in these cases followed those who had instituted a false ideal of a Christian Church, rather than the weak men who had been mastered by that idea. While the pity for these victims was yet fresh, every one looked to see what would happen at the installation of the Duke of Wellington as chancellor of Oxford, at a time so critical. The proceedings there, while very amusing, were significant enough. The young men in the theatre are wont to express their partialities and dislikes, political and religious, on these occasions—thus giving notice to the world what it has to expect from the rising generation of professional men and legislators; and the watchwords and cries were never more significant than on the present occasion. There were thunders of applause when cheers were asked for the bishops, Mr. Stanley, and the Duke of Cumberland; and never-ending groans at the Irish Church commission, the administration, and the Gower Street Company—meaning the London University. The word the ‘Dissenters’ was received ‘with a long-protracted snuffle, and an ejaculation of “Amen,” from several voices, in imitation of the nasal twang of the conventicle.’ This, again, was like a restoration of the seventeenth cen-

ture The peculiar enmity against the Dissenters on this occasion, was a piece of retribution on a movement of the Moderate-Church party to obtain admission for them to the universities, and nothing could be more offensive than two cries and their reception—'The university and her privileges' and 'London University and her want of privileges' The cheers for Oxford and her exclusiveness were natural and fair enough, but the virulent desire to exclude the Dissenters from privilege everywhere, was well understood to be expressed by these lads on behalf of their class and order Such were

but less prosperous than they had been. It appeared that the Tractarian multitude was largely increased from the ranks of the Evangelical party There were many lowly and tender spirits, worn and anxious with the care of working out their salvation

where they had the protection of a priesthood, which permitted them to repose their cares upon others, on the simple condition of obedience to definite commands, and which prescribed a clear ritual duty in discharge of obligations which had hitherto weighed heavily upon their consciences It was natural that the numbers that went over from the Low to the High Church should be considerable Some of the brightest lights of the sect, too, were extinguished within this period Its honoured and beloved Wilberforce was laid in his grave during this time, and to no man did the sect owe so much His May day nature was too genial to be clouded by the gloom himself

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sincerity of heart—the woes of all who sinned and suffered, his glorious and exquisite nature broke through all factitious restraints, and made him free joyous, and benign, as if he had never taken upon his lips that language of his

sect which abounds at once in denunciation and terror, in slavishness and pride. He was far above fear and haughtiness alike, though he might strive to feel both; and, while exhorting to the attainment of a specific faith, as the only security for salvation, he so abounded in good works as to earn the wondering veneration of all living men, and the gratitude of unborn generations. The affectionate, confiding, cheerful old man—wise as a sage, and fresh as an infant—sank into death just after learning that the Negro Emancipation Act might be considered safe; and when he closed his eyes, the brightest light of his sect went out. The influence of the body had been materially confirmed by the writings of Hannah More, whose books are a curious reflection of a part of the spirit of her time. The reflection may be regarded as exaggerated, however; for it would be hard to impute to the sect all the spiritual pride and censoriousness, the narrowness of view, and factitious interpretation of nature, life and Scripture, which pervade her writings. But the solemnity, the self-analysis, vigilance, asceticism, and intemperance of both fear and hope, are thoroughly characteristic of the sect, and merely aggravated in Hannah More, as they were neutralised in Wilberforce, by the constitution of the individual. Her writings had a vast circulation in their day; and, as they sprang from the spirit which originated the present Evangelical movement, so they largely assisted in kindling and spreading it.

The activity of the sect was shown during this period chiefly in its own walk—of denunciation, and obstructive asceticism. It does not appear to have taken any conspicuous part either with or against the government on the questions of the time regarding the rights, liabilities, and duties of the Church. But it begged for ordinances of religious humiliation under the infliction of the cholera—in some places held up the cholera as a judgment on the nation for its spiritual levity; instituted the Sabbatarian movement which has been revived, from time to time, to this day; obstructed the publication of geological knowledge, lest Scripture should be discredited by the disagreement of the beginning of Genesis with the discoveries of modern science: and discountenanced the musical

festivals which were a feature of the time, including as they did, sacred music, and being frequently held in churches. While the Oxford sect were encouraging art promoting freedom and gaiety of spirits in the intervals of religious observance—as on Sunday evenings—and holding that none but the priesthood have any concern with consequences while they scrupulously fulfil conditions, the

were acting in a curiously
bill, full of insufferable
s called for once a year,

by aristocratic gentlemen who could not suffer under it, while bringing it to bear upon the poor in their comfortless homes, or to prevent their going abroad a bishop employed himself in invidiously counting the boats which passed under Putney Bridge on the Sunday, dissension was risked at the early meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, by clergymen who declared themselves resolved to defend the Mosaic scriptures from the inroads of scientific innovation, and certain newspapers praised the conduct of divines—and among others, the Bishop of London—for withdrawing from all appearance of countenancing the musical festival held at Westminster Abbey in 1834. The scruple was about 'employing a church as a place of sensual recreation,' and no doubt was presently extended to the use of music in religious worship. These differences between the sects were practical assertions of their respective doctrine of priesthood and no priesthood, the insufficiency and sufficiency of Scripture, and the ritual and ascetic mode of life and worship.

The action of the third party in the Church during the period is no less conspicuous than that of the first, and far more so than that of the second. This, the Moderate party, was that to which the ministry and, on the whole, parliament may be said to belong if they could, with their diversity of view and unfixedness of theory, be said to belong to any one division. Ministers of state, and members of parliament, generally speaking have not the training—that of the clergy on the one hand and of the nonconformists on the other—which furnishes men with fixed principles of judgment and action on church matters,

and there is therefore no subject on which legislators usually appear so weak. The surest indication of their views given by ministers was by their clerical appointments; and the appointments under Lord Grey's administration—especially that of Dr. Whately to the archbishopric of Dublin—spoke plainly enough. Amidst their infirmity of action, and backwardness of speech, they showed their conviction that the Establishment needed reform; they made a large reduction of Irish bishoprics, consented to a large reduction of Irish tithe—though the measure was not carried—and proposed to commute church rates in England, for the relief of the consciences of Dissenters. The Dissenters refused to accept anything short of a total abolition of these rates, seeing no relief to conscience, and no recognition of its rights, in a measure which would compel them to pay the same tax under another name; but the proposition showed the tendencies of ministers. Another decisive act of the same character was their favouring the petitions sent in, whether by Dissenters or members of the university, for the admission of Dissenters to degrees in the university. The exclusion of Dissenters by their being required to sign the thirty-nine articles was an innovation—declared to be so by the petitioners in the senate of the University of Cambridge—and a very injurious one to the interests of all parties. The restrictions were laid on in the reign of James I., in a manner informal and unprecedented, against the wishes of a large number of the then existing members, and in a time of extraordinary turbulence and spiritual oppression. The academical petitioners prayed for a restitution of their ancient laws and liberal usages, whereby many excellent citizens, now excluded by conscience from entering the universities, might be admitted to degrees, and thus made more available to the good of their country. When Lord Grey presented this petition in the Upper House, and Mr. Spring Rice in the Lower, both these ministers pledged themselves to use every effort in their individual capacities to carry the measure of relief proposed. Counter-petitions were sent in from both universities, much more numerous signed; and their advocates in the House and elsewhere appeared to think the question decided in equity by the prepon-

derance of opinion within the Universities; but the government and the Houses generally thought that the opinions of parliament, the Dissenters themselves, and the public at large, were no less pertinent than those of the privileged university men; and the debate was long and ardent. The case of the exclusionists was destroyed by

twelfth term, when the demand upon them to sign the articles barred them from degrees. This was strongly presented by Mr. Spring Rice, in the debate on the Dissenters' Bill; while others showed how fearful was the snare to consciences in such a case—how powerful a temptation was presented to a young man to sign what he did not believe; and how injurious it was to the universities themselves, and to public

which, in common with a most valuable men—the unscrupulous. On the other side, there was some ridicule of Dissenters for 'feeling so deeply, exclusion from the empty honour of a degree,' and apprehension that, if admitted to that, they would next crave possession of office and emolument in the universities; they were too small a minority to be worth altering the plans of the institutions for; yet they were so numerous, and increasing so fast, that they would soon overthrow the Church. the subscription to articles was a mere form which no reasonable man need scruple to go through; yet it was the bulwark of the Church which must not be touched. the Dissenters would carry off so few prizes in life, compared with Churchmen, that it was folly to suppose they lost anything worth debating about by the present arrangement; yet there was no saying what would become of the connection between Church and State if the liberal professions were thrown open as freely to nonconformists as to members of the Church. Amidst these mutually destructive pleas, the ministers declared their judgment to be in favour of recurrence to the ancient liberties of the universities, and deprecated all argument from possible future consequences, not contemplated in the present measures, and

which might very well be met in their own time, if they should ever arise. The scene at the third reading of the bill was disgracefully clamorous, so that the speaker himself was scarcely able to preserve his equanimity. The mover of the measure, Mr. Wood, could not be heard in his concluding explanations for the 'jeering, shouting, coughing, and crowing;' yet he obtained a majority of 164 against 75—a proof that ministers had on this occasion, and in that House, asserted liberal principles with sufficient plainness. Nor did they fail in the other House; though there the bill was thrown out by a majority of 187 to 85.

The apprehension in this case was that the Dissenters would endeavour to obtain a separation of the Church from the State. The promoters of Mr. Wood's bill saw that to refuse what appeared to them justice to the Dissenters was more dangerous to the Church than any recognition of liberty of conscience. The Church really was at that time in great danger. The High Churchmen and Dissenters were almost equally discontented at its connection with the state: and the intermediate parties were dissatisfied with its condition, and alarmed at its prospects. 'The Church as it now stands,' wrote Dr. Arnold in 1832, 'no human power can save.' He and other Moderate Churchmen, therefore, set to work to reform it, while the High Churchmen were proposing its being put under the care of its hierarchy, and the government were striving to disarm the enmity of the Dissenters—as far as they considered that enmity reasonable—and the Dissenters were striving for relief from the liability to support a Church of which they conscientiously disapproved.

Among the proposals offered by Churchmen for a reform of the Establishment at that time, the two most conspicuous publications were put forth by Lord Henley and Dr. Arnold. Lord Henley's plan was, that ecclesiastical affairs should be managed by a convocation; that the bishops should cease to sit in parliament; and that laymen should be wholly silent about matters of Church doctrine. This was so contrary to all Dr. Arnold's views of right, that it called forth his protest in the shape of a pamphlet on Church reform which, in that season of excitement, caused much

Church in England, to extinguish tithes, and to abolish pluralities

Some curious incidents are found scattered through the registers of these years, which show the temper of the times, amidst the convulsion of religious parties. The work called *Froude's Remains* opens to the reader an astonishing picture of the state of mind and mode of life of the early Tractarians—with their talk of the 'detestable Reformation,' 'odious Protestantism,' the insufficiency of Scripture, and its utter destitution of assertion and evidence of the chief essential doctrines of the Christian faith, and their fastings, forms, and strong tendency to monachism. An analysis and comparison of their principles and modes of belief, their forms and organisation, present so curious and minute a resemblance to those of the Pharisees as exhibited favourably by Josephus the Pharisee, as to make it astonishing that the parallelism could be overlooked by the members of the new sect themselves. From their great doctrines of the insufficiency of Scripture the need of tradition, and priestly succession, to their daily religious forms the resemblance is astonishing.

Next we come to several occasions of great amazement to members of the administration. Lord Althorpe found himself worsted in an unexpected collision with refractory churchwardens, when he issued a circular to that body in England and Wales, preparatory to the institution of the ecclesiastical commission. The circular requested

the ownership, and liabilities of
active parishes. Some took

— giving any information, and
some wrote in a tone of which the following extract may serve as a specimen. It occurs in the midst of a lecture to the minister on the coronation oath the sacredness of church property and so forth. 'It is the part of wise legislators to obtain
information, before they
using the property ar

with the administration in which your lordship holds a prominent office they prejudge a case—administer to the passions and vices of the mob, to obtain their concurrence and support—act in ignorance—and mar every thing that

not see what more Dissenters could wish than relief from disabilities as to marriage, burial, registration, and such matters. The deputation replied, that their brethren had thought it best not to stop short of the broad ground of religious liberty. Still Lord Grey was perplexed, for he did not understand the principles of religious liberty. He asked if they wanted to do away with all state establishments of religion, to which Mr. Howitt's reply was, 'Precisely, that was what they desired.' He explained that in the opinion of the body he represented, a Christian government should protect Christianity, but that this could be done only by making all bodies of Christians equal before the law. Lord Grey indicated unconsciously the spirit and the fault of his government by setting forth what he believed it would have been politic for the petitioners to have asked, and that the gaining of that step might have led to something more. The views of the petitioners, however, were not politic, but moral, and they were not a party whose obligations and conscience the prime minister was likely to be able to expound. The simple reply of the deputation conveyed a severe rebuke. They did not think it honest to ask for less than they desired to have, with a concealed view of obtaining more hereafter. Where a principle was concerned they thought it right to make a plain and full assertion of it. In this course there

familiarised with the broad principle of religious liberty, and, yet more, with the spectacle of a calm and intrepid assertion of any principle in its full scope.

It may be remembered that, at a former period, one objection to the admission of Jews to parliament was that Quakers were excluded, to which the advocates of the Jews replied that they were quite ready to admit the Quakers. This was now done. Early in the session of

refusal to take the oath, and a committee was appointed to consider of his case. The result was that the House,

on the recommendation of Mr. Wynn, the chairman of the committee, resolved to admit Mr. Pease, conceiving that if he became, by his entrance, liable to penalties in any courts, the risk was his own, and no concern of theirs. The ayes were loud and multitudinous, and there were no nays; and when the Quaker member appeared to make his affirmation, clothed in a complete suit of brown, elegant from its extreme neatness, he was received with a very cordial and general cheering. If one of the objections to the admission of Jews was thus done away, they did not at present profit by it. Their cause was annually pleaded by some Christians, as unquestionably and earnestly religious as any in the House; but the same mutually contradictory arguments for their exclusion were also repeated from year to year; and the religious conflicts of the time yielded no increase of civil rights to them.

And during these conflicts in the Church, and between its members and the Dissenters, Death was putting in his cold hand, to draw away one and another of the assertors of full religious liberty, to a region of utter stillness. Where angry voices were now clamouring, their loved tones would never more charm to silence the strife of tongues; where eyes were flashing in enthusiasm or passion, or congregations were met calmly to assert their rights of conscience, some grey-haired leaders were absent, and would never meet their brethren again. The Baptists had lost Robert Hall; or rather, the world had lost him. From him Sir J. Mackintosh said that he had learned more of principles than from all the books he had ever read; and while he could thus meet the strongest men on their own ground, he could charm the most ignorant, and rouse the most apathetic, by the light and glory which streamed from the fountain of the heart in floods of eloquence which it required only an open heart to receive. This great man's life was one of fearful suffering from disease—from anguish of body which, at one period, helped to overthrow his mind, and which, ever after his recovery from that insanity, kept him apparently too low and weak for duty. But duty was his strength; and in him was seen, from week to week, that marvel which has often attended a briefer martyrdom—that of the extinction of the sense of pain

under the strong workings of the nobler powers. When he feebly entered the pulpit, and rose feebly to speak, and spoke at first in a voice so low and husky as to make his hearers wish him at home and at rest it was scarcely possible to believe him the Robert Hall whose vigorous championship of the rights of conscience, and broad assertion of a liberal philosophy were before the world, but from moment to moment the fire was kindling and spreading within him—his torment subsided his eye brightened, his

high, the more it roused souls
calm, would never again re
d recommend to them, as he
loved to do, 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace'
—Another was withdrawn, too, of whom no one knew
whether he ought to be called Churchman or Dissenter.
Rowland Hill had received deacon's orders, and always
insisted that he was an *Episcopalian* clergyman, but he
preached any and every where—in all sorts of chapels in
private rooms, under trees in parks, and in the open fields.
His mission was—or seemed to himself to be—to find fault
all round, except with persons too obscure to fix the eyes
of men. He was the foe of John Wesley in early life, and
afterwards the censor of all churches—having as vehement
an intolerance of sectarianism as sects in his latter days
had of each other. When the white hairs of fourscore
years hung beside his brows his rebukes had another
power added to that of his strong and apt and piercing
thought, and, aged as he was, he was missed at a time of
conflict, when he would have proved himself almost as

ance in music was wont to soothe the troubled and
abashed hearers of the eccentric pastor by divine strains,
which were only in true harmony, however, with the
prayers of the old divine and now, the pastor being gone
the harmonist soon followed—wafted away, it might
almost be said, in music. During the wanderings of his

last illness, he scarcely ceased his low singing of the airs of Handel. With him departed one more tranquillising and sanctifying influence from the religious world of the period. From four years old, when his music drew tears down the cheeks of listeners, to the age of seventy-six, he was a living harp, made resonant by every breath of thought, incident, and feeling; and a sad silence settled down upon his place when death had snapped the chords at last.—The learned Adam Clarke died during the fierceness of the sectarian conflict. In his youth, he had known and witnessed more of religious excitement than most men; for, when only nineteen, he was one of Wesley's itinerant preachers. The quietness of the study suited him better, however; and he withdrew more and more into it—delighting himself with various antiquarian research, but devoting his best resources of every kind to his great commentary on the Bible. He educated two Buddhist priests for the function of Christian missionaries in Ceylon, and baptised them; but that part of his work afterwards appeared to himself fruitless, for they became high-priests in their own temples at home. He was immersed in his biblical studies in his last days; and we may hope that the clamours of theological strife came softened to him in his retreat, and gave as little disturbance to his peace as to his faith; but his very quietness was an admonition which could ill be spared at such a time. One other there was whose departure at this juncture can never be alluded to without clouding the countenances of all who knew his story. Rammohun Roy was the descendant of Brahmins of a high order. He was born a British subject in India; and he used all the opportunity given him by birth and position for cultivating his mind, and enlarging his knowledge. He became a Christian, and gloried—till he came to England—in the liberty and liberality secured, as he believed, by that faith. He learned the languages necessary for studying the Scriptures in the original; and from them he directly derived his views of the comprehension, charity, and fundamental liberty of the Christian religion. He arrived in England in 1831, to watch over the reconstruction of the India Company's charter. The impressible Hindoo was sufficiently excited by the merely

political movements of the time but its religious conflicts affected him much more deeply. He could not recognise the Christianity he had learned and so dearly loved amidst the pretension of the Tractarians, and the asceticism of the Evangelicals and the wrath of the Irish Protestants, and the tumult of the Irish Catholics and the conflicts between the Church and the Dissenters, and the widening split in the Scotch Church, and the profane antics of the Irvingites. He went to hear all within his reach—he was ready with sympathy for all who were not angry or proud—he poured out his wonder and sorrow at what he saw—and—he wasted day by day. Other causes of trouble he is believed to have had, but it was the painful excitement of his sojourn in England that was fatal to him. A sickly hue—not concealed by the dark skin—settled upon his cheek, the hair round the turban, once so crisp, became thin and lank, the long fingers grew thinner and thinner, the cheerful voice grew listless and hoarse, the light of the eye went out, the tall frame was bent and an expression of ghastliness gathered about the once amiable and smiling mouth. He sank at the first touch of illness, resigning himself to the Hindoo observances desired by his attendants and was laid—not among any of the Christians whose strifes had so chilled and wounded his hope and heart—but alone among the trees of a private garden belonging to the mansion where he died. It is not in our time, as it once was, that the heathen say, as they look thoughtfully on ‘See how

Rammohun Roy found
 very far indeed from even
 men—‘to insist strongly
 on the difference between Christian and non Christian, and
 to sink into nothing the differences between Christian and
 Christian’

The prevalent faith in Ireland lost a champion at this time in the death of the Roman Catholic Bishop Doyle—
 And in Scotland, the schism was begun, which was to end

Reform Bill, passed a law which interfered considerably
 with the function of patronage, increasing the difficulty to

any patron of settling a minister who should be unacceptable to a congregation. Bodies of Churchmen had already seceded, and formed themselves into 'Voluntary Church Associations,' many Dissenters joining them; and now, many more Dissenters sided with the Church, on the passage of the act restraining the powers of patrons—which powers had been the most important original cause of dissent in Scotland. A fierce storm was evidently driving up; and we shall hereafter have to watch its explosion.

Amidst such turbulence there must be eccentricity. The intellectually and morally infirm become excited in noisy times, and cannot be kept quiet. Irving and his fantastical worship have been mentioned before, as a natural product of such a crisis; and now came the close of that tragedy—a tragedy which, like so many others, involved with its mournfulness much of the horrible and of the ludicrous. Canning had been one of his hearers. On Sir J. Mackintosh mentioning a prayer of Irving's—'We pray for those orphans who have been deprived of their parents, and are now thrown on the fatherhood of God'—Canning 'started' at the beauty of the expression, and made Sir J. Mackintosh take him to the Scotch Church the next Sunday. There was then no one of any kind of eminence who did not go to swell the crowd at the Scotch Church. But such fashions do not last. As soon as the social and sympathetic nature of the man was roused, and his love of sympathy and approbation kindled to an irrepressible flame, 'Fashion went her idle way,' as Carlyle says, 'to gaze on Egyptian crocodiles, Iroquois hunters, or what else there might be; forgot this man—who unhappily could not in his turn forget. . . . There was now the impossibility to live neglected; to walk on the quiet paths, where alone it is well with us. Singularity must henceforth succeed singularity.' By the time his church was ready, his fame had greatly sunk, and even the exhibition of the unknown tongues brought few strangers. There can be no doubt that some of his own flock, and a few more, were sincere believers in the gift of tongues; that of those who sat in that church in the grey of the wintry morning, listening for the shrill unearthly

sound from the lips of the 'gifted,' many believed that the end of the world was at hand; as indeed did some who were not usually superstitious. But Irving felt himself, for the last seven years of his life, neglected, and to him to be neglected was to be forlorn. He could not acquiesce, and he wore himself out in the effort to keep up incessant excitement in himself and his sect, and to draw in towards himself notice, wonder and sympathy from without. On the 2nd of May 1832, he was excluded from the Scotch Church, on the ground of heresy. It was after this that he betook himself to the little chapel in Newman Street, where the worst exhibitions of eccentricity took place. Through all these, he was 'believed by Dr. Chalmers 'to be a man of deep and devoted piety.' We have seen what he was as 'the blooming young man' 'The last time I saw him,' says the same recorder, 'was three months ago, in London. Friendliness still beamed in his eyes, but now from amidst unquiet fire, his face was flaccid, wasted, unsound; hoary as with extremes ago, he was trembling over the brink of the grave.' His last words were 'In life and death I am the Lord's.' He was in his forty-third year. The body of his followers did not immediately melt away, and the name of an Irvingite may still be heard here and there, but there was no distinctive doctrine to hold them together—scarcely a bond but that of belief in Irving and the tongues; and the sect stands on record chiefly as an eccentricity—as a rebuke of the intemperance of the time.

In such a case, it is not wonderful that some sickened of unity, in which become monism law of 'Christian one which it ass failed. Attempts strife of the Chri not be got rid of new hope and a long-forgotten cheer, to the preaching of the golden rule of this new faith—that every one should

be employed according to his capacity, and rewarded according to his works. Society was to be ruled by persons of genius and virtue; and under them, all were to have a fair start—to be allowed the free use of their best powers, and reap their natural reward. The spiritual, intellectual, and industrial concerns of each and all were to be combined in a closer union than ever before; and thus, work was to be worship, and affectionate co-operation was to be piety. Amidst much that interested some of the best hearts, and engaged some of the noblest minds of the time, there were doctrines and provisions that would not stand a close examination. While it was supposed that the rulers would be persons of virtue and genius, the proposed organisation offered a scheme of a hierarchy which might easily, and would probably, become an intolerable despotism—a locked framework, in which individual freedom might become impossible. Still, from the nobleness of its social rule, from its union of religious appeal with social sympathy, and from the humbling and embarrassing condition of the religious world at the time, the disciples of St. Simon were not few in England, and their quality was of no mean order. At meetings in London, the French chief of the St. Simonian Church in London presided, in the costume of the sect, and told, by the lips of English friends, the story of its propagandism; for its missionaries were abroad, from Constantinople to the Mississippi. Among the speakers, stands the name of the virtuous Rowland Detrosier, the chairman of the Manchester Political Union—as an inquirer and assistant, not an advocate; and it may be noted among the signs of the times that a system of communism, elevated, just, and spiritualised enough to engage the inquiring sympathy of men of his class, should then, amidst the haughty claims of the churches, obtain any footing in England. Rowland Detrosier died the next year, ‘directing his remains to be devoted to the purposes of science;’ and St. Simonism did not long survive him. There may be wardrobes where the dress of the sect is laid by in lavender, and now and then wistfully looked at; there may be times when families and friends revert to the golden rule of labour and its recompense, and speculate on when it will come into

practice, but St. Simonism has long taken its place among the religious and social eccentricities of its day.

The most evident practical result of the religious commission of the purposes of which was to inquire into the condition of the Church in England, and redistribute its temporalities. This commission was set to work in 1835. As for the rest, it may be hoped that a multitude remembered at the time, as we do now, that noise and confusion are in their very nature superficial and fitful. Turbulence is on the surface, calmness is within the depths. Christianity in England was far from being like what this narrative of critical phenomena, taken alone, would represent it. For every conspicuous personage who was announcing or denouncing, or remonstrating or propounding, or anathematising or demanding, there were hundreds or thousands of quiet Christians at home, humbly living by their light, and religiously following peace with all men. Because the fact was visibly before the eyes of all men corrupted in the world, to the multitude who sat on the grass and were breaking bread, while His handful of preachers and messengers were contending which should be greatest. If it was scarcely possible at the moment for all to help visiting some of the pain and shame of such contentions on the religion which was their ostensible theme, it would be folly and ignorance for them to have been alarmed by the shouts and brawlers of the world, and those to whom the tidings of peace and good will, given in the name of the Lord, had only wondered at the far-off blackness and tempest which did not ever cloud their sky.

CHAPTER XI.

Finance—First Budget—Statements of 1832 and 1833—Assessed Taxes Movement—The House-tax—Statement of 1834—Westminster Election—Malt-tax—Surplus of 1834—The Corn-laws—Total Reductions—Poor-law for Ireland—Registry of Deeds—The Ballot—Military Flogging—Impressment of Seamen.

IF the unreasonable expectations of the country were a hardship upon the Whig administration generally, there was no particular in which such expectations were more perplexing than that of finance. The nation ought to have known that this was a point on which the Whigs must be weak—in practice, if not in conception. There is, perhaps, no office of the government so difficult to fill well as that of chancellor of the exchequer; and certainly none in regard to which it is so impossible to anticipate correctly whether any man will fill it well or ill. He may have gone through all the preparatory offices, and be deservedly looked up to for all the qualities which all these offices can elicit; and yet, when he takes the one other step, he, for his part, may find himself in a wholly new world, for which his previous training may have done little to fit him, and everybody else may find him a very bad chancellor of the exchequer. The only certain point about the matter is, that a man who has had no training, and who is moreover a novice in executive politics altogether, cannot fill the office well. This was Lord Althorp's constant plea—urged even pathetically. He was wont to say that he was forced into the office against his will; he was wont to solicit information, as an alms, on every hand; he entreated every one to observe the tentative character of his proposals, and to believe that he was quite ready to give them up; and he conveyed the impression, every time he opened any financial subject, that he supposed the chances to be against his information being correct, and his plans feasible. Yet, with all this candour on his part, the people were slow to learn the

on this last item was the lowest Lord Althorp gave it up, and also the steam boat tax The duty on the transfer of real property of course went too, and to make up for the cutting off of these proposed resources, the duties on tobacco and glass must be retained Thus the greater part of the plan was gone already, and a defeat on the timber duties question awaited the minister He proposed, on the 18th of March to render the change of duties more gradual, and so involved the fiscal question with the wider one of free trade, that the opposition required either a committee of inquiry, or time for consideration Lord Althorp declined both, and was left in a minority of 46 The duty on Cape wines was again altered, and the penny cotton duty was reduced to 5 8ths of a penny, and thus scarcely anything remained of Lord Althorp's first budget

This compelled him to bring forward the subject again within the year, and October was the time as parliament was in session a usual season on account of the Reform Bill

and customs, made by the Treasury had amounted to an actual decrease of half, in the last year Lord Althorp felt confident that he did not make any exaggerated statement when he assured the House that it might rely on a surplus for the year of £493,479 'He had examined the statements in every way that he could, and he was sure that he was not chargeable with any exaggeration' This was on the 3rd of October On the 17th, the Duke of Wellington gave warning that the ministers would find themselves mistaken in their hopes of half a million of surplus, and declared that the utmost surplus could not exceed £10 000, but Lord Grey 'could not see on what principle' the statement of Lord Althorp could be disallowed, and was confident that government might have taken credit for a much larger surplus The event was such as might make the Duke himself as much surprised as the ministers were ashamed

From the occupation of parliament and the country with the Reform Bill, it was the 27th of July before Lord Althorp could bring forward his financial statement, though he must long have been wishing the exposure well over. His delightful candour, however, smoothed his way through difficulties which would have been most galling to men less truthful or more self-seeking. 'I am quite aware,' said he, 'that my statement must be one which a chancellor of the exchequer has been unaccustomed to make of late years; and therefore I have to throw myself upon the indulgence of the House.' The surplus of last autumn had dwindled away, month by month; and instead of the half-million anticipated, there was now a deficiency of more than £600,000. Under such circumstances, no reduction of the public burdens could be proposed; and the ministers were persuaded, now that they saw things by the lights of office—which really are essential to a perfect judgment of such matters—that the vigorous reforms under the late government had carried reduction as far as it could safely go. The present ministers had cut down the estimates to the amount of £2,000,000, and declared that henceforth any relief to the people must come from economy in the departments, to obtain a surplus, and not from reduction of taxes. The unexpected deficiency was ascribed in part to the arrival of the cholera, and to political excitement; but there was also an oversight of Lord Althorp's, pointed out by himself: he had forgotten the expiration of the beer-duties in the spring, which made a difference of £350,000.

On the next occasion, he presented his budget for the first time to a reformed parliament. This was on the 19th of April 1833. First, he gave a good account of the reductions of official expenses by Lord Grey's government. They had abolished 1307 places, with an immediate saving of £192,000, and a prospective one of £38,000 more, on the expiration of the retired allowances; and some saving in such allowances had taken place in another direction, by bringing retired revenue-servants into active duty again, as opportunity offered. Lord Aberdeen's reductions in the diplomatic department, under the late administration, had

been carried on, till they now reached nearly £100 000. There was now a surplus, and one considerable enough to do more than pay off the previous deficiency, and Lord Althorp ascribed this to the reduction in the estimates and not to any remarkable improvement in the yield of the taxes. It enabled him to offer something in the shape of a boon to the tax payers, and what he proposed was this—to abolish the duty on tiles and the cotton duty laid on two years before, and to reduce the duty on soap one half, and, in various proportions, the duties on advertisements and on marine insurance, and several assessed taxes.

It was clear that the ministers had no ideas on the subject of taxation—no principle no orderly plan. There was a touch here and a touch there—now a notice of a little experiment, and again a retraction of it—but nowhere a broad procedure based on sound reasons. The whole management was not only empirical but desultory. To men who knew anything of the principles of finance certain lessons of this year—this first year of a reformed parliament—would have been painfully impressive, only, that to men who duly felt the responsibilities of government they could not have occurred.

‘When I laid the additional duty on raw cotton in 1831’—there had been an almost inappreciable *ad valorem* duty before—I said that it was radically wrong in principle’ Lord Althorp now declared with an unabashed air, ‘and that, on the first opportunity which arrived, it ought to be reduced. That opportunity has now arrived’ It seems never to have occurred to him that there was anything wrong in thus playing fast and loose with such a power of interference as that of taxation—that there was any objection to laying on a tax one year and taking it off another, deranging the course of manufactures and commerce at each operation. Nor on any one of the many occasions of his acknowledgment of the vicious principle of the taxes which he imposed or retained did he show any shame in alleging the most trifling pretences of temporary convenience. Some astonished observers at last came to the conclusion that there was something behind—that Lord Althorp himself, the most ingenuous

of men, assigned one set of reasons, and acted upon another. And in truth, there *was* something behind; and it *was* the practice of this administration, and perhaps its very worst fault, to assign bad reasons for good acts, and insufficient reasons for bad acts.

Some reference has been made before to the fatal practice of the Whig administrations of yielding to clamour whatever it chose to demand; and, after a time, to yield nothing but what was demanded by clamour. It was pointed out that this really revolutionary system began with the Tories—with the protracted refusal of the Catholic claims; but it has since become a distinguishing characteristic of what are called liberal administrations. In this particular, in which Lord Grey's cabinet as a whole was inculpated, Lord Althorp was perhaps the greatest sinner; and a clear publication of the fact was before the world during this and the succeeding session. At a public meeting, at this date, when some proposition about Dissenters' rights was made, the mover was entreated to wait and be patient, and not embarrass the ministry. 'Not embarrass the ministry!' he cried. 'Why, I never found yet that anything was to be had but by embarrassing the ministry;' and his closing words were lost amidst vociferous cheering. And of the whole administration, it was understood that the chancellor of the exchequer was the most impressible by clamour, from his good-nature, his indolence, his consciousness of unfitness for his work, and his consequent lack of self-reliance. Accordingly, he became the butt of all discontented tax-payers; and they made him so miserable that he daily sighed to be able either to repeal all taxes whatever, or to hide himself on one of his stock-farms. From the moment he could not but see that the turbulent among the tax-paying multitude had discovered how to manage him, he lost all energy; and the movement against the assessed taxes reached a point which disturbed the peace of the metropolis. And not only of the metropolis; for in several large towns there were threatenings of fiscal rebellion, and everywhere a strong disgust at the ineptitude of the finance minister.

In answer to the universal complaints of the injury and inconvenience of our methods of taxation, by which

industry was fettered, food made dear, knowledge taxed, incomes rendered uncertain, and tempers tried past

extensive change in the financial system of the country was one of the promises of the reform ministry—one of the labours to which a reformed parliament was pledged. It was told in the House how astonished an eminent foreigner, M. Simond, was at seeing an exciseman in a glass-house quietly permitted to interfere with the process of manufacture, and how earnestly M. Simond inquired whether the spirit of the English people could really patiently endure such an intrusion. It was asked why the English people should endure such a method of taxation—why there should not be a complete revision and reform of our financial system—why there had not been already such a reform—why a year had been lost. The discussion of this matter, the pressing of these questions in the House, and, through the newspapers, in the country, became very . . . and Lord Althorp had . . . he would take off a . . . o, and that to do more

would be 'to make an extensive change in the whole financial system.' Certain classes of tax-payers therefore took the matter into their own hands. A prodigious outcry was raised against the house and window taxes.

These two taxes were always mentioned together by those who desired to get rid of them, but many thought—and among them the chancellor of the exchequer—that while the window-tax was one of the worst on the list, the house duty was one of the best. The window tax is a duty upon fresh air, sunshine, and health, the house-duty had the merits of being a direct tax, and of falling on a class particularly well able to pay it—that of proprietors of houses. The truth of the matter was, however, that the tenants of London houses—a numerous class of shop-keepers and . . . the tax during occ . . . in their rent. By . . . pocket its amount . . . , and the

event proved that this was motive enough for a noisy agitation. 'It never was general in the country; it did not spread beyond London and two or three of the large towns; but it was too much for the energy of Lord Althorp. Associations were formed to resist the payment of these taxes; no purchasers came forward for goods seized for arrears of these duties: when the levy was made, it was necessary to bring out, not only a large force of police, but of soldiery; and these were got rid of by terrified lodgers or friends of the recusants handing the money out of upper windows. Long and noisy processions of London tenants—chiefly shopkeepers of the west end—came to besiege the treasury chambers: and for some hours, it was difficult for horse or foot passengers to make their way between Parliament Street and Charing Cross. Lord Althorp was earnestly assured by those who understood the parties—and he declared that he believed it himself—that the outcry was only tentative, and the discontent partial and selfish; yet he gave way, as will be presently seen. 'What taxes would you reduce, if you were in my place?' he asked of an adviser. 'Certainly not the house-duty—that is nearly the best tax we have,' was the reply. 'It is,' he said—'it is a good tax; yet you would yield if you had been in Whitehall yesterday, and had heard the clamour that I had to hear.' 'It is only the west-end shopkeepers, who want to pocket a bonus.' 'I know it; but what can I do?' This was early in 1834; and it was only in the preceding May that the chancellor had obtained the sanction of parliament to the continuance of the house and window taxes by a majority of 273 to 124. On the 21st of next February, he incurred the banter of Sir Robert Peel, by his change of tone on this question. He was rather disposed to remit the house-tax, though he believed that it was not the best that he could remit—he could have put down the resistance to the tax; yet the resistance was partly the reason of his giving up the point. 'He would leave the matter open for a certain period, so that each member might present his plan to the House; and if any honourable gentleman should succeed in inducing the House to prefer any other tax for remission, he would not propose to repeal the house-tax.' This was a direct invitation to clamour

against every tax on the list. 'The noble lord,' said Sir Robert Peel, 'was the last person to object to this gentle violence. There never was so clear an invitation to be ravished. . . . He would, for six months, give a clear stage and no favour to all those who were anxious to make him change his course.' After this, it was no matter of wonder that the house-tax figured at the head of the reductions proposed in the next July.

Lord Althorp, 'wa . . . proposed, of the house-tax, amounting to £1,200,000.' The window-tax was at the same time slightly reduced, at a cost of £35,000—the relief being given to small farm-houses.

The excitements of the times in relation to these duties, and the difficulties of ministers, were increased by the necessity of a Westminster election, on account of them. Sir J. C. Hobhouse, one of the representatives of Westminster, and secretary for Ireland, had repeatedly condemned these taxes in his addresses to his constituents, and in his speeches in parliament. When Lord Althorp began to waver, Sir J. C. Hobhouse absented himself from divisions; and after doing so on the 30th of April, was called to account by his constituents, and resigned both his office and his seat. He presented himself again for Westminster, but was thrown out; and the election was conducted with a violence, and an enmity towards the government, which showed how far it was possible to sink in popularity in one year, by a timid or indolent omission to redeem pledges of financial reform given in days of struggle and hope. There is no doubt that this Westminster election determined much of the character of the next year's budget, though the chancellor of the exchequer was not qualified, as he himself declared, to redeem the promises of the government, by proposing a large measure of financial reform.

to at least as much as the relief proposed from the repeal of the house-duty. The chancellor of the exchequer remonstrated, declaring that such a reduction would compel the imposition of a property-tax. The House decided in its favour, however, by a majority of 10; and the ministers found themselves in a difficulty under which they must have time for deliberation. The only declaration made on the instant by Lord Althorp was, that he should be ashamed not to acquiesce in the expressed decision of the House. On consideration, however, it did not appear necessary so to acquiesce; and it was resolved in the cabinet to induce the Commons to rescind their vote. Lord Althorp tendered his resignation the morning after being outvoted on Sir William Ingilby's motion; but Lord Grey advised the king not to receive it. The country gentlemen were by some means made to understand that any reduction of taxation begun by them would be taken out of their hands by the manufacturing interest, with more vigour than any other party could command. Lord Althorp was persuaded that he did not stand pledged to abide by the decision of the House, as his words at the moment were taken to imply, and the Commons rescinded, on the Tuesday night, the vote of the preceding Friday on the malt-tax. It is not to be wondered at that the people were becoming dissatisfied with the way in which their financial affairs were decided on and conducted. Once more during the session of 1833, the chancellor of the exchequer was in a minority on such matters. On the 16th of July, Mr. Ruthven carried a resolution in favour of relief by the abolition of all sinecures, obtaining a majority of nine over the government. On this occasion, however, it was not necessary to act on the resolution, or to resign in consequence of it; and nothing ensued from this ministerial defeat.

Next year, affairs looked better. The estimates were reduced half a million; and Sir James Graham had been so active in his office at the admiralty, that a reduction of nearly a million and a quarter on an expenditure of six millions had taken place in three years. The surplus for the year, when the accounts were made up in July 1834, was upwards of two millions. There would be a smaller surplus next year, because the interest of the twenty

against every tax on the list. 'The noble lord,' said Sir Robert Peel, 'was the last person to object to this gentle violence. There never was so clear an invitation to be ravished. . . . He would, for six months, give a clear stage and no favour to all those who were anxious to make him change his course.' After this, it was no matter of wonder that the house-tax figured at the head of the reductions proposed, . . . in the next July.

Lord Althorp, 'was proposed, of the house-tax, amounting to £1,200,000.' The window-tax was at the same time slightly reduced, at a cost of £35,000—the relief being given to small farm-houses.

The excitements of the times in relation to these duties, and the difficulties of ministers, were increased by the necessity of a Westminster election, on account of them. Sir J. C. Hobhouse, one of the representatives of Westminster, and secretary for Ireland, had repeatedly condemned these taxes in his addresses to his constituents, and in his speeches in parliament. When Lord Althorp began to waver, Sir J. C. Hobhouse absented himself from divisions; and after doing so on the 30th of April, was called to account by his constituents, and resigned both his office and his seat. He presented himself again for Westminster, but was thrown out; and the election was conducted with a violence, and an enmity towards the government, which showed how far it was possible to sink in popularity in one year, by a timid or indolent omission to redeem pledges of financial reform given in days of struggle and hope. There is no doubt that this Westminster election determined much of the character of the next year's budget, though the chancellor of the exchequer was not qualified, as he himself declared, to redeem the promises of the government, by proposing a large measure of financial reform.

If the administration showed itself irresolute and imperfectly informed, it was not the House of Commons that had at this time any right to offer ridicule or reproach. On the 26th of April 1833, a reduction of the malt-tax was proposed by Sir William Ingilby—a reduction amounting

to at least as much as the relief proposed from the repeal of the house-duty. The chancellor of the exchequer remonstrated, declaring that such a reduction would compel the imposition of a property-tax. The House decided in its favour, however, by a majority of 10; and the ministers found themselves in a difficulty under which they must have time for deliberation. The only declaration made on the instant by Lord Althorp was, that he should be ashamed not to acquiesce in the expressed decision of the House. On consideration, however, it did not appear necessary so to acquiesce; and it was resolved in the cabinet to induce the Commons to rescind their vote. Lord Althorp tendered his resignation the morning after being outvoted on Sir William Ingilby's motion; but Lord Grey advised the king not to receive it. The country gentlemen were by some means made to understand that any reduction of taxation begun by them would be taken out of their hands by the manufacturing interest, with more vigour than any other party could command. Lord Althorp was persuaded that he did not stand pledged to abide by the decision of the House, as his words at the moment were taken to imply, and the Commons rescinded, on the Tuesday night, the vote of the preceding Friday on the malt-tax. It is not to be wondered at that the people were becoming dissatisfied with the way in which their financial affairs were decided on and conducted. Once more during the session of 1833, the chancellor of the exchequer was in a minority on such matters. On the 16th of July, Mr. Ruthven carried a resolution in favour of relief by the abolition of all sinecures, obtaining a majority of nine over the government. On this occasion, however, it was not necessary to act on the resolution, or to resign in consequence of it; and nothing ensued from this ministerial defeat.

Next year, affairs looked better. The estimates were reduced half a million; and Sir James Graham had been so active in his office at the admiralty, that a reduction of nearly a million and a quarter on an expenditure of six millions had taken place in three years. The surplus for the year, when the accounts were made up in July 1834, was upwards of two millions. There would be a smaller surplus next year, because the interest of the twenty

millions given to the West India planters was to be payable from the ensuing 1st of August, but there would still be enough to admit of a considerable reduction of taxation—probably £1,620,000. There was no occasion now for O Connell to renew his proposition, made in April, to attack the debt by reducing the interest arbitrarily one-sixth, and then again, when wanted—a proposition which excited so much outcry as made him glad to be silent upon it henceforth, and never more to try the House of Commons with talk of the ‘cant of national faith’. It was no longer necessary, the House thought this year, to repeal the malt-duty, and Mr Cobbett’s motion for its abolition was voted down by an immense majority. It was not thought necessary for the House to attend to the subject of duties on food, as Mr Hume proposed. Some members of the government voted with Mr Hume, being previously pledged to advocate relaxations in the corn laws. Lord Althorp, though made fully aware, long before, that the new poor law was framed on the supposition of the repeal of the corn-laws, declared to the House that he should meet the motion with a direct negative, ‘although against his theoretical opinion,’ and also, that ‘it was not the intention of the government, as a government, to introduce any measure for the alteration of the corn laws, and that government, as a government, would not support any such measure if introduced.’ What remained was for the chancellor of the exchequer to say what he could propose for the relief of the tax-paying public.

By some changes in the duties on the licences of dealers in spirits and in beer, he expected to raise his surplus to £1,815,000. Out of this he proposed to repeal the house-tax—as before declared—several minor assessed taxes, some small customs and excise duties which interfered with manufactures, and one of the stamp-duties—that on almanacs, which produced some popular irritation. All these together would amount to upwards of a million and a half. On this, the last occasion of Lord Althorp’s responsibility to parliament as chancellor of the exchequer, he spoke cheerfully of the condition and prospects of the country. While between six and seven millions of taxes had been taken off during his term of office—immediately

after large reductions by the preceding ministry—the income was reduced only £3,000,000. The reduction of the expenditure had been nearly two millions and a half; and provision would actually be made for our new obligations to the West Indies, not only without increased taxation, but at the same time with a diminution. It was certainly true that great improvements were taking place, and considerable relief granted from year to year, though the nation had yet to wait for an able administration of its financial affairs, and for anything approaching to reform, or even revision of its financial system.

Before the new English poor-law was framed, a poor-law for Ireland was proposed in parliament by Mr. Sadler, in June 1832. For various reasons, the general feeling was strongly against it. Several members implored the House and the ministry not to subject Ireland to such a curse as the poor-law had been to England, till it should be proved that there was no better way of relieving the indigent. Ministers wished to wait to see the result of certain new arrangements in Ireland about rating for the benefit of the sick, from the success of which some hints might be derived. There was no subject on which O'Connell vacillated more than this; and there is no doubt that his irresolution was real. He had promised the poor Irish that when he came into parliament, he would never rest till he had obtained a poor-law for them; but now he opposed Mr. Sadler's resolutions, and frequently afterwards alleged that a compulsory charity was irreligious, and tended to lessen the free alms-giving which he regarded as a duty and grace enjoined and commended in Scripture. In saying this, he truly represented the Catholic portion of his countrymen, and exhibited the main difficulty of that most difficult problem—how to work a poor-law in the Catholic and most pauperised districts of Ireland. At a subsequent time, O'Connell assented to a poor-law, when in London, among reasoning men; and then again he repented, on the other side the Channel, and implored pardon of God and man for his irreligious compliance; and then, once more, he changed—not through profligacy in this case, apparently, but through a conflict between two sets of ideas and feelings which could not be made to agree.

He had time for consideration for the commission sent out to investigate and report upon the applicability of a poor law to Ireland did not go forth on their work till 1835, but O Connell was no more ready with a decision then than three years before.

The refusal of parliament during this period to entertain any proposition for a registry of deeds relating to real property, was striking and perplexing to foreigners and persons unfamiliar with the interests of the landed aristocracy in our country. Bills were brought in by Mr Campbell and Mr William Brougham—measures which were declared to be well framed and unobjectionable—yet the House of Commons rejected them again and again. No one openly disputed the need of such a registry. It was allowed to be a hardship that when a purchaser was buying land, he had no means of clearly ascertaining whether he had access to all the deeds which could affect the title. It was admitted that nothing could be more just, more simply convenient, than a general registry of deeds which should put a purchaser in possession of his own case, and secure him from all risk from evidence, concealed through design or accident, which might affect his purchase after he had paid for it. Yet the House would not accept any measure of the kind, and both Mr. Campbell's and Mr W Brougham's were got rid of on such frivolous pretences as to convey an irresistible impression that the landed interest had unavowed reasons for what they did. When they thus set people guessing, the reason assigned was that they were afraid of their mortgages becoming known—afraid that it would no longer remain a secret how their estates were encumbered. Mr Campbell's first announcement of his measure was in December 1830, and Mr W Brougham's in May 1831, and the second rejection of the latter measure took place May 7, 1834, by a majority of 161 to 45 against the second reading, and a curious social symptom thus appeared to all thoughtful observers.

There was another case, far more important than this, in regard to which the whole world was aware that men's speech did not answer to their thought. There was another measure which parliament rejected, year after

year, for pretences so utterly untenable as to show that the real reasons for opposition were unavowed. This was the ballot. Of course, every man was at full liberty to dislike and deprecate the ballot. The peculiarity of the case was in the assigning of various reasons so incompatible as to make the listener look round, and wonder at the gravity with which the argument was carried on. The case to be met was simply this. The extended franchise was not fully exercised; the negligent possessors were lectured, rebuked, sounded, canvassed; but they, in large numbers, omitted to vote. Anxious as they had been for the Reform Bill, they now did not use its privileges. Their reason was that the bill did not furnish the needful safeguards of their new responsibility. Intimidation of voters ran as high as ever; and Lord Althorp, the long-declared advocate of the protecting ballot, now thought himself obliged to be mute and idle, and leave the tradesman and the farmer, and every voter who had any connection with a class above him, to the mercy of his neighbours or his patrons. Year after year did Mr. Grote bring forward his motion in favour of the ballot for the protection of voters; and year after year was he met by the same incompatible objections—that it would not work, and that it would work too well; that Britons will not be bribed, and that they would be bribed incessantly under the cover of the ballot; that the voting classes are of too high an order to be insulted with such a protection, and that broad publicity was necessary to keep them up to their duty. Thus the question was met, from year to year, till, through a singular virtual coalition between two opposite classes, the popular demand for the ballot was overpowered. The aristocracy would not surrender their influence over the dependent class of voters; and that influence was known to be so powerful, through intimidation where bribery would not avail, that the vast multitude of non-electors took upon themselves to watch over its operation. The electors were their representatives; and this secondary representation they were resolved not to relinquish. They could send up an influence from below as powerful as that which brooded from above, and they would not, any more than the aristocracy, have it intercepted by the ballot.

Such was the issue of the painful state of the question, which lasted during this period, when those who declared in favour of this protection of voters would not act, and those who did, were insulted with pleas which were understood all round to be mere disguises of real reasons which no man had courage to avow. Something would have been gained to the heart and courage of the nation, and probably nothing lost to its reputation if the annual debate had been cut short with the declaration 'We will not give up our power over the voting classes. By mere threats of ruin we can now make tools of our tradesmen and farmers, or keep them quiet, and no harm is done. If they were to be really free in the exercise of the franchise there is no saying what confusion would ensue, and we only know that all control from us would be at an end.' Such was the state of things after the passage of the Reform Bill, a state of things sickening to the hearts of many thousands of husbands and fathers who would have dared anything for themselves, but could not see that their political duty required them to bring ruin on their households. Such neglected to qualify—setting a bad example therein, and in so far abrogating the Reform Act. And in the midst of a representative system like this—a system which worked imperfectly where it did not work viciously, the ministers took occasion to say, on all fit opportunities, that they considered the Reform Act final. While it was scarcely possible to exaggerate its value, and the importance of the era which it formed, it was because it opened the way to the achievement hereafter of a real representation, and not because the largest classes of the British nation were actually and immediately represented much more truly than before. As the ballot was not decreed in its own time, it only remains to be seen what stronger security for true representation will have to be accorded at a later day. That such an event is in store is debated on the

year by year by Mr. Hume, and by the session of 1837 it was clear that the debate was becoming more and more embarrassing to men who had always spoken with a

natural horror of the flogging of soldiers, but who had lately become aware of the weight of military authority on the other side. After the summer of 1832, every one had perceived that the abolition of military flogging was only a question of time. In May of that year, a private of the Scots Greys had been flogged under circumstances which induced a universal belief that his real offence was not a breach of discipline in the riding-school, as alleged, but his having written a political letter to a newspaper. A court of inquiry was held in July, and a sort of reprimand was adjudged to the officer in command. The publicity given to the facts greatly aided the cause advocated by Mr. Hume; and in the next division there was a majority of only eleven votes in a House of 291 members in favour of the existing system of military punishment. The other fearful tyranny which occurs to all minds in connection with this—the impressment of seamen—was now beginning to be treated in a tone of seriousness and humanity; and in August 1833, a division took place less unworthy of the eighteenth year of peace, than some that had preceded. There was a majority of only five against Mr. Buckingham's motion that it was the duty of the House to avail itself of the season of peace to inquire whether there was not some better method than that of impressment for manning ships in time of war.

CHAPTER XII.

Popular Discontents—Trades Unions—Dorsetshire Labourers—Day of the Trades—Changes in the Cabinet—Late Intrigues—Irish Tithes—The Lord-Chancellor—Lord Durham—The Grey Banquet—Prospect of New Parties—Dissolution of the Ministry—Retirement of Lord Brougham—Lord Lyndhurst succeeds—Lord Brougham's Law Reforms—Local Courts Bill—Chancery Reform—Retirement of Lord Spencer.

A GLIMPSE is afforded us at this period of that awful interior of the history of the time of which registers and reports tell nothing. They tell nothing, because they know nothing, of those movements in some corner of the national

heart and mind which are of graver moment than anything that is laid open to all eyes. Things were going on in the year 1834 which disheartened the few of the upper classes who knew of them, and whose calculations had been too sanguine as to the social effects of nineteen years of peace, and of four of liberal government. The good effects of peace and liberal government were in fact shown—not in the absence of ignorance and guilt among the people—but in the small results of their guilt and ignorance. If Sidmouth and Castlereagh had been in power, the year 1834 would have been as black a one to remember as that of the Cato street conspiracy.

The prevalence and power of trades unions have been referred to, and the murder of a Manchester manufacturer was mentioned at its date. The power and tyranny of the unions went on increasing, till in 1834 it became a serious question whether their existence was compatible with the organisation of society in England. Half a-dozen uneducated men—sometimes one able but

of the latter over the production and commerce of the country was very great. At this time, a new combination gave an enormous increase of power into their hands. Hitherto each body had struck for an advance of wages for itself. Now, the various trades combined for the purpose of supporting one another by turns. Some were to work, and maintain others who were contending for their objects; and when these objects were gained the good office was to be reciprocated. If the great body of labourers or even the majority of their leaders had been

temperamentally disciplined and
ably have stood in our
social revolution wherein

capital and labour would have been brought into deadly conflict, or into some new and wonderful agreement. But though these bodies of labourers understood some momentous truths, and set some noble objects before them—making sacrifices and arrangements for the education of their children, and the elevation of their own pursuits—

they were not yet instructed and disciplined enough for permanent concert, and, therefore, for success. The tailors of London broke away from their compact, and struck work without the sanction of bodies earning smaller wages than they; and these trades refused to support the tailors. Then, some office-bearers—chosen unwisely—absconded with money, and others mismanaged the funds: and from one cause or another, continued co-operation appeared to be impossible.

In the midst of this confusion, which would have presently settled the fate of the unions for a time, some events occurred, the gravity of which was then, and is now, but little understood by any but a few who did not tell what they knew, because it would not have been believed. Hitherto, the unions had been universally spoken of as those of trades; but now it appeared that the extremely poor, ignorant, and depressed agricultural labourers of the southern counties were banded together in unions, like the trades. It was the expression of that resistance to supposed tyranny which is the glory or the disgrace—the safeguard or the peril—of a state, according as it is enlightened by knowledge or darkened by passion. In this case, it was considered dangerous, and it was found to be inconvenient. These agricultural unions must be dissolved; and a method was used which brought after it endless mischief and shame. Six labouring-men were indicted at the spring assizes at Dorchester, not for any offence which they and others had ever thought of, but under an obsolete statute, enacted to meet the case of mutiny in the navy, and which made the administering of certain oaths a transportable offence. Ignorant as these men were, they knew that they were in fact charged with one offence and punished for another; and, rapidly as they were hurried out of the country, to undergo their sentence of seven years' transportation, they had time to become aware that public sympathy was with them. Public sympathy was with them, as with men punished by a stretch of law for a nominal offence, which did not repair the mischief of their example in that particular in which it was really wrong and dangerous. As for the unionists everywhere, they were exasperated: and they

declared that the time was now come for them to rise and overthrow the oppressors whose rule had hitherto disappointed their expectations, all the more bitterly for those expectations being in great part unreasonable.

By the unionists at large, it was agreed that a grand assemblage of all the trades should take place in or near London in April to procure the recall of the Dorsetshire labourers. The day fixed on was the 21st of April and the place Copenhagen Fields. This was all that the trades generally knew of the matter. Their leaders however, agreed that the great unions could and should overawe the weak government of Lord Grey—now in its latter days—and obtain whatever they had set their minds upon. This was all that the leaders in general meditated. But there was a little knot of ferocious conspirators in the midst of them, who conducted a central movement, and resolved upon a violent seizure of the government, in the persons of the royal family and ministers. The trades were requested to carry their tools—those being specified which would best serve as weapons in the attack upon London. The ‘glorious band,’ as the handful of conspirators called themselves were to carry arms. Accompanying the deputation, to the Home Office, they were there to seize the minister at the moment of reception, dispose of everybody else in the office, let in cordjutors, seize the other offices, take the king and queen prisoners, secure the Bank and the Tower and so forth. Lord Melbourne had graciously consented to receive the deputation on the 21st, and this would make the first step easy. He was declared to be ‘done for.’ But he received warning, and attended to it, and the Duke of Wellington made ready for the occasion with his usual quietness and promptitude. The great day was a Monday. On Sunday night, twenty nine pieces of artillery were brought in from Woolwich, and placed in the neighbourhood of Whitehall, out of sight. Some light cannon were stationed on the roofs of the government offices, so as to command the streets. Large bodies of soldiery came into town during the night, and were kept ready for instant action, though under cover. The public offices were strongly guarded, the police stations were filled with their force well armed, the magistrates were

early at their posts: the park-gates were closed, and the citizens took the hints of the newspapers to stay at home; aides-de-camp were in the streets, in plain clothes, to reconnoitre; and five thousand householders were quickly sworn in as special constables at Guildhall. As for Lord Melbourne, he was not visible. The under-secretary, Mr. Phillips, received the deputation, and told them that a petition, however respectfully worded, could not be received by the minister when brought in such a manner, nor could Lord Melbourne grant an interview to a deputation so accompanied; that is, by a procession of 30,000 men. So the petition was placed on its car—a car all blue and crimson—and carried away, to be presented again in a quiet and orderly manner, by a small deputation, five days afterwards. The whole procession repaired to Kennington Common, where Mr Phillips's reply was repeated on various parts of the ground. There was no attempt to measure their strength against the Duke of Wellington, with his troops and cannon—no attack upon the palace, the Bank or the Tower. No soldiers were seen in the streets, and scarcely a policeman: when London was again asleep, the artillery and soldiery were conveyed away; and next day the great city was as if nothing had happened. The end of the matter, as regarded the Dorsetshire labourers, was, that public opinion bore so strongly upon their case, that a free pardon was sent out to them in Van Diemen's Land; and they returned in 1837, to be escorted through the streets of London, and past the government offices, by a procession of the trades as numerous as that which had petitioned in their favour in 1834.

On the retirement of Lords Grey and Althorp, the anxiety of the nation about who was to govern the country was less eager than might have been anticipated. The cause of the comparative indifference was, that a universal persuasion was abroad that any government that could be formed out of any party must be merely temporary. The feeling in favour of a liberal ministry was still too strong to permit any hope to the Conservatives; while the unpopularity of the Whigs, and the known apprehensions of the king about Church questions, rendered it improbable

that such a cabinet as the last would keep any firm grasp of power

It was immediately understood that the king's desire was for a coalition ministry. But this was clearly impracticable. The commons would hear of no other leader on government questions than Lord Althorp, and they earnestly desired that he should be the head of the government. His station and character would have justified the appointment, and his unsurpassed popularity in parliament—a popularity which could not be fleeting, because it was grounded on fine qualities of mind and manners—would have been a strong point in favour of his administration. But he had not ability for such a position. He said so himself, and everybody knew it. His being premier was out of the question, but he was not to be parted with from office, and he gave up with a sigh the prospect of retirement to his country business and pleasures, received a pledge that the new Coercion Bill should be framed to meet his views, and became again chancellor of the exchequer. It was Lord Melbourne, and no one else, with whom the king consulted upon the reconstruction of the cabinet. Lord Melbourne becoming premier, his place at the Home Office was taken by Lord Duncannon—made a peer, and Sir J. C. Hobhouse took the woods and forests, with a seat in the cabinet.

The first act of the reconstituted government was to carry a new Coercion Bill, in which the clauses pro-
 - - - - - The subject of
 - - - - - d Grey had been
 - - - - - Repeated de-
 mands were made for the production of the lord lieutenant's correspondence, and the son of Lord Grey pressed Mr Littleton with close questions as to who besides himself had been the correspondent of the lord lieutenant. Mr Littleton had suffered too much to be indiscreet again, he positively refused to answer; but it was not denied that there was another. In the Upper House the lord chancellor astonished his hearers by declaring his dissent from Lord Grey in regard to Mr Littleton's act of communicating with Mr O'Connell. He did not know how government could be carried on if certain leading men

were to be considered as tabooed and interdicted from all communication with the government.' When after making this declaration, he proceeded to avow that he had privately corresponded with the lord-lieutenant about the Coercion Bill, men felt that no answer was needed from Mr. Littleton to Lord Howick's pressing questions. 'He was also'—after mentioning Mr. Littleton's correspondence—'in the frequent habit of corresponding with the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He had communicated with him on every subject interesting on this or the other side of the water.' The newspapers of the time pointed out the lord chancellor as the 'accomplice' of Mr. Littleton in writing the letter which changed the lord-lieutenant's opinion on the Coercion Bill, without the knowledge of the premier; and they further asked whether any cabinet could be safe with a member in it who could so perplex its councils. The experiment proved a short one.

The liberal party believed that it had gained by the changes in the cabinet; and a more frank and genial spirit of liberalism seemed to spread itself through the government after Lord Melbourne's entrance upon his new office. He was as yet little known in official life; but those who knew him best spoke well of him: he did not suffer under any lack of warning that much had been borne with from Lord Grey that would be fatal to the power of any one else; and the new premier took such warnings in good part. The session was nearly over—a session in which a vast amount of real business had been done, in the midst of all its mistakes and misadventures: the work of the government lay clear before it: and here was the recess just at hand, in which the measures of the next session might be prepared—for nobody dreamed of a change of ministry and of principles of government before the next session could begin. On the whole, Lord Melbourne's administration opened cheerfully; and the king's speech, on the 15th of August, was animated in its tone.

The autumn was variously occupied by the leaders of the parties and the destinies of the kingdom. Mr. O'Connell published a series of letters to the home secretary which could be of no service to any good cause from their violence of language, and in this case only aggravated the indis-

position of his Irish supporters to receive with a fair construction any measures offered by the imperial government. The 'Slaughter of Rathcormack,' which took place in November, and which was a prominent theme with O'Connell during the remainder of his life, might not perhaps have happened if he had not exhorted the people to impatience instead of patience, pending the trial of the government measures in regard to tithe. Some peasants who were opposing the collection of tithe, barred themselves into the yard of a cottage, as an escape from the military who were escorting the clergyman—Archdeacon Ryder—in his tithe-collecting excursion. The gate of the yard was forced, the soldiers fired, and thirteen men were killed, and eight wounded. Eleven of the thirteen were families. The widow paid her tithe, and the

fathers kneeling with clasped hands before the government, civil and ecclesiastical, which brought such desolation in the name of religion. O'Connell lost no time in exasperating the discontent, yet been enticed upon.

He was recreating himself, after a long stretch of arduous business, with a journey in Scotland; before the close of which some incidents occurred which deeply affected a part of the history of future years. He went from town to town, from one public reception to another, opening his mind to any hearers, on any subject; and thus the amount of egotism and indiscretion accumulated in ten days' time so as to fill the newspapers of the day, and fix universal attention. At Inverness, that post-horse was found not to have a promise about such proceedings as these men might laugh and be amused; but a scene full of seriousness and significance, and pregnant with political results, took place at Edinburgh, which caused the shedding of many tears in private, and the

disappointment of much national hope at a subsequent time. Lord Grey was travelling northwards during this autumn—conveyed in a sort of triumph to his home, and beyond, it, to Edinburgh, where a great banquet was given in his honour on the 15th of September. Among the members of his family who attended him was Lord Durham, at once the trusted friend of the old statesman and the beloved of the people. He was the principal framer of the Reform Bill, the consistent advocate of all genuine reforms—a man of the rarest honesty, which took the character of genius for the recognition of truth and right, and for the expression of it. When Lord Grey had earnestly desired his presence in the cabinet in the summer, he was kept out by the lord chancellor and another, and the Liberals in the Commons had expressed their sense of this act by an address to Lord Grey. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the lord chancellor appeared at the Grey banquet at Edinburgh; and nothing, as far as was known, had passed between the honoured guest of that banquet and himself, which need hinder his being present. He made a speech, the most prominent part of which consisted of rebuke to reformers who, in a fretful impatience, endangered all progress by rash attempts to go too fast. His language was so figurative that it is possible that he lost sight, in the pursuit of a succession of metaphors, of the substance of what he meant to convey, or of the impression which it would make on his hearers; but the great body of listeners—who were nearly three thousand—certainly understood him to desire a slackening pace of reform, and less pressure of popular will on the government; and it was in this understanding that Mr. Abercromby, Mr. Ellice, and Sir J. C. Hobhouse responded to the appeal of Lord Durham, and followed up his speech—the celebrated speech of that day—of which some words passed into a proverb, which sustained the heart and hope of the people at the time, but which, in the end, cost him his life, and set back the great work of colonial reform. The most memorable words of that speech, the words which were received at the moment with an enthusiasm that spread over the whole kingdom, were these: ‘My noble and learned friend, Lord Brougham, has been pleased

to give some advice, which I have no doubt he deems very sound, to some classes of persons—I know none such—who evince too strong a desire to get rid of ancient abuses and fretful impatience in awaiting the remedies of them. Now I frankly confess I am one of those persons who see with regret every hour which passes over the existence of recognised and unreformed abuses. These words were received with cheers which seemed as if they would never end, and when single voices could be heard, one member of the government after another responded heartily, and said that it was good for public men to witness such scenes and hear such truths, it kept them up to their duty. Among these voices, however, the lord chancellor's was not heard. He sat mute—mute at the moment, but not elsewhere. He travelled fast, and was since against to a meeting the *Edinburgh*

Review which appeared immediately afterwards, there was an article whose authorship was evident enough, and was never denied by either the editor or the presumed writer, which charged Lord Durham with having opposed a the net, and with the secrets of the his quarrel—interesting in itself, as between two eminent liberal leaders—was made a matter of public principle, and it was inevitable that Lord Durham should be regarded as the stanch reformer that he had ever shown himself to be, while Lord Brougham offered himself as the representative of the retarding or 'drag' system of government, as it was then called. Hence it was that those words of Lord Durham at the Grey banquet passed immediately into a proverb, and were taken as a text for political discourses, and were seen on banners, and as mottoes to newspapers and tracts. Hence it was, too, that the vindication of Lord Durham's honour became a public concern. 'It is our, but such a must be met—royal of cabinet secrets in the act of defence. The thing was done, and

, well done, at a banquet given to Lord Durham at Glasgow, on the 29th of October. He there read a letter from Lord Grey which settled the question. Lord Grey declared his opinion that it was impossible for Lord Durham to reveal, for his own justification, anything that had passed in the cabinet; but he offered his own unqualified testimony to Lord Durham's fidelity to his public professions and his official duty. This testimony of the prime minister was enough; and the past was settled. As for the future, there was to be first a passage of words in the House of Lords. To this men began to look forward eagerly. They saw no further, and little dreamed what consequences of this hostility lay hid in the future. And, as a few days proved, they could not see so far as even the opening of the session. 'He has been pleased,' said Lord Durham, of his antagonist, 'to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords. I know well the meaning of the taunt. He is aware of his infinite superiority over me in one respect; and so am I. He is a practised orator, and a powerful debater. I am not. I speak but seldom in parliament, and always with reluctance in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy from an unwilling majority. He knows full well the advantage which he has over me; and he knows, too, that in any attack which he may make on me in the House of Lords, he will be warmly and cordially supported by them. With all these manifold advantages, almost overwhelming, I fear him not, and I will meet him there, if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he was pleased to term my "criticisms." ' Thus did the ground appear to be prepared for a new assertion of the people's cause, in regard to the reforms remaining to be achieved: but before the time came, the king had interposed—Lord Brougham had taken leave of office, and the Conservative party was in power. The king, it was understood, did not look forward with any satisfaction to the proposed controversy in the House of Lords; and his mind had long been uneasy about the treatment of the Irish Church by the Whig ministry. He seized the occasion of the death of Lord Spencer—by which Lord Althorp was raised to the peerage—to dismiss his ministers, and seek for satisfaction to his mind from the opposite party.

The surprise to the ministers themselves appears to have been great. All that had happened was that Lord Althorp could no longer be chancellor of the exchequer, from his removal to the Upper House. But Lord Melbourne had an immediate resource in Lord John Russell. He went down to Brighton on the 13th and remained there till the Friday evening when he returned to town, to tell his colleagues that the king had sent for the Duke of Wellington. Whether he had anything more to tell—whether he understood any secret causes of a change so sudden—or whether he agreed with the general belief as to the king's apprehensions and dislikes there is no saying. The one fact of the case avowed by Lord Melbourne was, that he was taken by surprise—the cordiality of the king towards himself having never been interrupted.

The event occasioned a well as at home. French and on the quays of New men stood in groups to read the papers or discuss the news. Here was an experiment of a recurrence to principles of government which had been solemnly and with much sacrifice on every hand, disavowed by the British nation. The most interesting spectacle to the world now was of the success or failure of the experiment. Those who looked at the weakness and faults of the Whig administrations of the last four years believed it would succeed. Those who looked deeper—into the mind so lately declared, of the English people—knew that it would fail. But the suspense was exciting and painful—more exciting and painful than people could believe a year afterwards. For it was not long before the Whigs were in again, with Lord Melbourne at their head but not with Lord Brougham on the woolsack. Lord Brougham now finally left office, after having held the great seal four years. He did not, however, relinquish at the moment in the relinquishment of all office. The Duke of Wellington

Lord Lyndhurst and he was appointed at once—on the 21st of November. Lord Brougham immediately wrote to

him, to offer to take, without salary, the office of chief-baron, actually held by Lord Lyndhurst. The application did not succeed. Lord Lyndhurst could say nothing till the return of Sir Robert Peel; and before that return, Lord Brougham had withdrawn his request. The public voice on this act was not to be mistaken. Lord Brougham pleaded that his intention was to save £12,000 a year to the country and to spare suitors the evils of a double appeal; but this last object, of the abolition of the vice-chancellorship, he had not pursued during the four years when the power of chancery reform was in his hands; and as for the saving of salary, the general feeling was that it would have been no compensation for the evil of the 'political immorality' of taking office under the Conservatives, in a manner which indicated confidence in their remaining in power. Lord Brougham therefore withdrew his application; but not before the act had affected his political reputation in foreign countries, where all preceding inconsistencies had been allowed for, or unrecognised.

In reviewing his four years of office, the most agreeable point to dwell upon is his activity in his function, and in the cause of law reform. In the summer of 1830, he had brought forward a bill for the establishment of courts of local jurisdiction in certain districts, intended to apply afterwards to the whole of the kingdom. By this measure it was hoped that justice would be rendered cheap and easy of attainment in a number of cases where it could not be had by multitudes, unless brought near their doors. As soon as he was in office—in December 1830—Lord Brougham brought forward this measure in the House of Peers, where it was laid on the table for consideration, being, as Lord Lyndhurst testified, an affair of the very highest importance—one consideration being that it would create fifty new courts, with fifty new judges and their establishments. To the great grief of its author, and of all who intelligently wished that justice should be accessible to every citizen, this, which was called, both lightly and seriously, the Poor Man's Bill, was thrown out by the Lords on the 9th of July 1833. The rejection of the measure believed to be owing to the fear that it would

too much business from the higher courts, impose too much expense, and yield too much patronage. In the — brought in a bill, which on the 22nd of August, for the Court of Chancery, and together a saving of about

£70,000 Lord Eldon did not think he should be able to persuade himself to go down to parliament again—he had, as God knew, too little strength to spend on an attendance utterly hopeless, and it weighed him down more than he could endure, to observe what was going on there, and how. This was written while waiting upon the progress of this bill, 'vindicating his own conduct' the while, and objecting 'to the haste' with which parliament was abolishing thirteen sinecures which had flourished under his own eye. Alas! there was other haste to object to—in the chancellor's judicial function. The clearance of business that he effected in the Court of Chancery was such as to make his predecessor feel as if the 'iron mace,' that Sydney Smith speaks of, were swinging about his ears. 'For twenty five long years,' said Sydney Smith just after the coming in of the Grey ministry, 'did Lord Eldon sit in that court, surrounded with misery and sorrow, which he never held up a finger to alleviate. The widow and the orphan cried to him, as vainly as the town crier cries when he offers a small reward for a full purse, the bankrupt of the court became the innatio of the court, estates mouldered away, and mansions fell down, but the fees came in, and all was well. But in an instant the iron mace of Brougham shattered to atoms this house of fraud and of delay.' And it is true that from that hour we have heard no more of the delays in the Court of Chancery being ruinous to property, as well as trying to the patience. It is true, all — and has been since, much the judgments which were as prompt — so promptly. However this may be—whatever might be the qualifications for such a post — be no question of the — ing a rule of Lord Eldon's, of the clearance which was made by Lord Brougham. At

another period, the quality of the judge's law must be the first consideration: then, and for once, there was something more important—that racked minds should be eased, and unsettled minds certified; that a vast amount of deteriorating property should be restored to use and good management; and that the reproach of the highest court of the realm—the reproach of being a bottomless pit of perdition—should cease. In Lord Brougham's farewell to the court, on the 21st of November, he said, after lamenting the compulsion which obliged him to give up the seals in haste: 'I have the greatest satisfaction in reflecting that this court, represented by its enemies as the temple of discord, delay, and expense, has been twice closed within the space of five months.' He went on to ascribe the merit of this to the vice-chancellor and late master of the rolls, and also to the bar; but these functionaries all existed in Lord Eldon's days, and did not save the court from its reproach. Lord Brougham was himself the spring of their activity, as Lord Eldon had been the check upon it; and Lord Brougham was doubtless entitled to the satisfaction he naturally expressed on this parting occasion. As for the rest, it is not necessary here to enter into the controversy between himself and his contemporaries as to the share he had in promoting some good measures and defeating others. 'I should be only fatiguing you,' he wrote to Mr. Bulwer, 'were I to name the other measures of large and uncompromising reform with which my name is connected.' There were, indeed, many popular interests in former years with which his name was connected; and it should not, and will not, be forgotten, amidst speculations on his short official career, that in early and unpromising days, the most conspicuous advocate of political reforms, and of education, and the most effectual denouncer of negro slavery, and of tyranny in every form, was the Henry Brougham who, in 1834, was sighing for that position among commoners in which he had won his fame. At public meetings in London, and latterly in Scotland, he earnestly put forward his regrets that he had ever quitted the scene of his triumphs, the House of Commons, and his longing to 'undo the patent' of his nobility; and there were many who lamented that he

should ever have left the ranks of opposition. Such now hailed his retirement from office, and the cleat indications of circumstances that the retirement was final, for they had a lingering expectation that, though in another House, he might resume his old habits, and be again the hope of the oppressed, and a terror to tyranny in high places.

Lord Althorp, now become Lord Spencer, was thus soon at liberty to enter upon the privacy he sighed for. He never returned to office. Perhaps no man ever left the House of Commons and an official seat about whom there was so little difference of opinion among all parties. Nobody supposed him an able statesman, and nobody failed to recognise his candour, his love of justice, his simplicity of heart, and his kindness and dignity of temper and manners.

CHAPTER XIII

. The Charter—Louis Philippe
 Duke de Bourbon—
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THE affairs of France during this period were only less interesting to the English than their own, and the proceedings of England were commented on by French statesmen of every party from day to day. English Conservatives found cause for apprehension, during the whole struggle for reform, that we were proceeding *pari passu* with the revolutionists of France, and English Liberals watched with interest whether it was so, while French affairs were undecided. The eyes of the world were fixed upon Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, from the moment

when he accepted the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, before Charles X. and the Dauphin sent in their abdication, and set forth for exile. This Louis Philippe, whose father had died on the scaffold in the first revolution, who had known the depths of poverty, and been long lost in obscurity, was now at the head of the French nation; and it was a spectacle of eager interest how he would conduct himself there. He had walked, almost barefooted, over the Alps, and had taught mathematics in a school in Switzerland. He had lived humbly on the banks of the Thames; he had been a modest resident in Philadelphia, where he had fallen in love with a lady whose father refused his addresses as a match too inferior for his daughter; and he was now the centre of order in France, and the hope of all who craved the continuance of monarchy, and also of those who desired a safe and firm republic. The abdication of the king was placed in his hands at eleven o'clock of the night of the 2nd of August; and the next day he opened the session of the chambers, which met punctually according to the order of the late king, given some months before.

His speech declared his disinclination to his present prominent position, but his willingness, as that position was assigned him by the will of the nation, to accept all its consequences—all the consequences of a free government. He pointed out to the chambers the subjects which it was necessary for them to consider first; and especially the fourteenth article of the charter, of which the late ministers had availed themselves to assume that the king had a power beyond the law, when a crisis should render the observance of the law incompatible with regal rule. While delivering this speech, he stood on the platform covered with crimson velvet, strewn over with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, and with the tricolored flag waving over his head. It was observed that he left the royal chair vacant, and took the lower seat on the right of the throne, while his second son took that on the left. His duchess and her daughters were present in a gallery provided for the purpose; and every one remarked the expression of mournful gravity in the countenance of the anxious wife—the expression which has marked that countenance to this day.

The chambers were not satisfied with considering the fourteenth article of the charter. There was much besides which must be changed, for what was needed now was not the charter with a new executive, but one declaratory of such new principles as would be a better safeguard than the last had been. The preamble for instance declared the charter to be a gift from the king to his people, and if this had ever been true, it was not so now. The whole must be revised. It was revised, and never perhaps had a work of so much importance been done so rapidly. The

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 their various objects and especially for the ... of the
 hereditary ... stood between them and
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 the 6th the whole was prepared and ... as declared
 by the new preamble vacant by the forfeiture of the
 whole elder branch of the Bourbons. By alterations in
 the charter, all Christian denominations of religion were
 ordained to be supported by the state and in the following
 December, the Jewish religion was added. The censorship
 of the press was abolished for ever. The king was de-

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the citizens of the empire. By a special law ...
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 special provision were immediately ...
 Soult and Admiral Duperre. Several peers recorded their
 protest against this act of the Lower Chamber which cen-
 cerned them, and the whole peerage question stood over
 to the next session.

There was not, perhaps, a more anxious mind in France
 than that of Lafayette between the 3rd and the 9th of

August. He was a republican, and he could now have established a republic; but whether France, as a whole, desired it, and whether the French people were fit for it, he could not decide; and the necessity of making a decision was an occasion of great anguish to him. He afterwards believed that he had decided wrong in offering the throne to Louis Philippe; and he never again knew what it was to have an easy mind. His last words, spoken from his pillow, were: 'He is a knave; and we are the victims of his knavery'—'C'est un fourbe; et nous sommes les victimes de sa fourberie.' It was on the night of the 6th of August, as we have seen, that the deputies finished their work. Whether Lafayette hoped or feared delay in the Upper Chamber, there was none. On the 7th, the peers passed the measure—only ten being dissentient on any part but that relating to their own order. The old royalist Chateaubriand objected to the throne being declared vacant while the infant son of the Duke de Berri lived; but these were no times for a child to occupy the throne; and the exclusion of the whole of the elder branch of the Bourbons was a point on which the nation at large was determined. Lafayette's time for deliberation was past. On the 9th he had to assist in offering the constitution and the crown to Louis Philippe.

The time was so short as to place the foreign ambassadors in great difficulty. They could not receive instructions from home; and at the ceremony, while every other part of the chamber of Deputies was crowded, their gallery contained only ladies and a few attachés. The golden fleurs-de-lis had disappeared from the drapery about the throne, and four large tricolored flags were disposed behind it. Instead of the anointing of the sovereign, there was to be the solemnity of swearing to the charter. Ninety peers were present: and those absent were the seventy-six of the creation of the late king, and those who had protested against the new charter. The royalist deputies were all absent. At the opening of the business, the duke was seated on a chair in front of the throne, his head covered, and his sons standing on either hand. While thus seated, he should be of the 7th of August, as agr.

read, and then delivered to him and then said addressing the peers and the deputies 'I have read with great attention the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies and the act of agreement of the Chamber of Peers I have weighed and meditated all their expressions I accept without restriction or reserve the clauses and engagements which this declaration contains and the title of king of the French which it confers upon me and I am ready to swear to their observance' Here he rose and received in his left hand the form of the oath The whole assembly rose in solemn emotion, and the new king baring his head, and raising his right hand pronounced the oath in a firm, clear, and solemn voice 'In the presence of God, I swear to observe faithfully the constitutional charter, with the modifications expressed in the declaration, to govern only through the laws and according to the laws, to cause good and exact justice to be rendered to every one according to his right and to act in all things with a single view to the interest the happiness and the glory of the French nation' The diversity of the cries which composed the acclamation that followed was remarked by all and derided by some who said that the very legislature did not know what to call the new king they had been in such a hurry to make 'Long live the king!'—'Long live Philippe the Seventh!'—'Long live Philippe the First!' were the cries, which, however, soon mingled in one great shout of 'Long live the King of the French'

There was a picture of this ceremonial—of Louis Philippe swearing to the charter—which men thought would remain through many ages as a historical record of a great new era in the history of France Men thought that their posterity in distant centuries would look upon the central figure of that picture—the bare head, the raised hand the lettered p
of a new
peace sho
picture has been torn from its frame in the royal palace and carried out to be draggled in the dust, and cut to shreds.

The act which it represented had rottenness in it; and one characteristic of the time which had set in was, as indeed it is of all times since the dark ages, that nothing abides that is not sound and true.

Four marshals of France now brought the Crown and sceptre, and other insignia of royalty, with which they invested the new king. As he returned with his family to the Palais Royal, escorted by the National Guard, the multitude extended to the remotest points within view; and, of that sea of heads, all eyes were fixed upon the citizen-king. At the same moment, the displaced family were taking their way, neglected and forlorn, to the coast—the very peasants on the road scarcely looking up at them as they passed.

For a while—a very little while—all looked gay and bright about the new royal family—except the countenance of the mournful queen. She and her daughters visited in the hospitals the wounded of the days of July. The king invited to his table members of the deputations which came to congratulate him on his courage in accepting the crown. Sometimes there were officers of the National Guard, sometimes students from the colleges, sometimes municipal dignitaries from the provinces, sitting down to dinner with the king and his many children, like a large family-party. These children were idolised. Together with caricatures of the exiled family were handed about prints of the Orleans group, each member of which was made beautiful, noble, or graceful. All this was very natural. A fearful oppression had been removed; the revolution had been nobly conducted, and now there was a bright new hope to gladden many hearts. But under all this there were the elements of future trouble; and distress was already existing to a fearful extent. The pains and penalties of revolution were upon the people, and amidst all the rejoicing, there was stagnation of trade, depression of commercial credit, and hunger among the operative classes. Higher in society, there was a beginning of that conflict between the parties of movement and resistance which is a necessary consequence of political convulsion. Before the end of the year, two administrations had been in power; the first

continuing originally but one member of the movement party, but being presently rendered a coalition government and the second being perpetually in collision with the Chamber of Deputies. The executive was kept in continual anxiety by seditious movements which took place in capital or country, at short intervals. The royal family, besides its share in all these interests had to endure a great shock in the suicide of the Duke de Bourbon, the last of the Condés. He had been one of the Bourbon exiles and retained the prejudices of his party, and whether his suicide was owing to his grief at the revolution, or to domestic miseries, it was most painful to the family of the new king to one of whose sons he bequeathed the greater part of his wealth under domestic influences of a dishonourable character. Thus, amidst much gloom and apprehension, closed the year of the revolution, leaving much to be done and endured during the next.

In February a most alarming disturbance took place in Paris which ended in the sacking of a church, and the destruction of the Archbishop's palace. The anniversary of the assassination of the Duke de Berry was kept by a religious service notwithstanding a warning from the Archbishop of Paris of the danger of such an appeal to political passions. Some one fastened a print of the little Duke de Bourdeaux on the drapery of the funeral-car in the church, and placed over it a crown of everlasting. The crown was pulled to pieces by royalists who were anxious to vent their next their hearts. Murmurs spread, and a call for the clearance. But the people outside turned their indignation against the priest and the archbishop who might have prevented this royalist scandal, and the mob rose against the church and the police and destroyed also the archbishop's country-house. One consequence of this riot was that the fleur-de-lis now disappeared altogether. It had been turned round the crosses in the churches and elsewhere to symbolise the union of devotion and loyalty, and now it was found that if they were not separated, the cross would be made to share the fate of the 'flowers of kings.' 11°

government charged itself with stripping the crosses of their lilies; the seal of state was altered, and the fleur-de-lis was proscribed thus soon after those who had worn it. Before the year was out, the chambers had decreed the perpetual banishment of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and the sale of all their effects within six months. The same measure was dealt out to the family of Napoleon.

As for the other measures of the parliament, the most important regarded the constitution of the two chambers. The hereditary peerage was abolished: and the power of the king to nominate peers was restricted within certain defined classes of persons, under declared conditions of fortune and length of service. It is difficult to see what remained after this to make a peerage desirable—at least, without a change of name. To sit in an Upper House, and be graced by the sovereign, might be an honour; but it is one altogether apart from all former ideas of peerage. It was easy to carry this bill through the Chamber of Deputies; but what was to be done next? There was no doubt of a majority in the Upper House against the abolition of the hereditary principle. It was necessary to create peers for the occasion; and there was a creation of thirty-six. The liberals were as angry as the peers at this proceeding, which they considered illegal and tyrannical. The plea of the government was the singular nature of the emergency. The peers showed their wrath in sullen silence; the liberals in clamour. During the whole proceeding, scarcely a sound was heard in the Upper Chamber. The voting was conducted, as nearly as possible, as it would have been in an assembly of the dumb. The majority by which the hereditary peerage was abolished in France was thirty-three. One touching incident which followed upon this act was that thirteen peers sent in to the president of their chamber, a week or two afterwards, their abdication of their rank and privileges. In their letters they assigned as their reason the abolition of the hereditary principle. The president received the letters, but refused to read them aloud. In considering the conduct of the British House of Lords with regard to the Reform Bill, it should be borne in mind what was passing in France. When there was

citizens increased, there was reason to apprehend a forcible demolition of these works—raised by invisible funds, and at length the workmen were dismissed, and all was quiet for a time.

In the affairs of government, however, there was no quiet. There were several changes of ministry during the year 1834—more suppression of journals and political societies—more riots in Paris and Lyon, and at one time some danger of a war with the United States, about a money claim which France at last hastened to satisfy to avoid war. The king made more and more advances towards being the sole ruler of the country, with mere servants under him in the name of ministers. The substantial middle class grew more and more afraid of disturbance the longer they enjoyed the blessings of external order. They escaped the qualms of a consciousness of their having bartered freedom for quiet, by endeavouring as much as possible to avoid the whole subject of politics. Those who felt the despotism, in their consciences, intellects, and affections became hardened under the apathy and contentedness of the masses and stirred less and less under the inculcated doctrines—no wonder that

The spectacle of the conflict had been one of interest to the world outside. The struggle had been a brave, an able, and, under the circumstances, a lost one, and there were times when the most anxious observers had some hope that the Poles might succeed. The word 'hope' may be used here without reserve, because the sympathy was almost all on one side. The highest conservatives might and did sympathise with the Polish rebels, for there were no higher conservatives in the world than these Polish rebels themselves. If the deep-rooted conservatism, their intensely aristocratic spirit, had been understood by the liberals of Europe or America from the beginning, there would perhaps have been less sympathy in their efforts, and certainly less hope of their success. It was not till long afterwards that the discovery was made that the Poles had been fighting—for nationality, it is true—but not for national freedom, that they had not the remotest idea of giving any liberty to the middle and lower classes of their people, and that they carried their proud oligarchical spirit with them into the mines of Siberia, the drawing rooms of London and Paris, and the retreats of the Mississippi valley. This is not mentioned as a matter of censure, but of plain fact, which it is necessary to know, in order to the understanding of their case. They strove for all that they understood, and they did, for the rescue of their nationality, all that bravery and devotedness could do. To contend for popular freedom was another kind of enterprise, of which they had no conception, and for not understanding which, therefore, they cannot be blamed. But it is to this inability that their utter destruction is now, at last, seen or believed to be owing. They themselves impute their latter disasters to dissensions among themselves, and there were dissensions enough to account for any degree of failure. But it also seems clear that their cause was doomed from the beginning, from the absence of any basis of popular sympathy. The great masses were indifferent, or rather disposed in favour of Russian than of Polish rule. They did not know that they should be better off under a change, and they might be worse, so they let the armies pass their

fields, and scarcely looked up as they went by. No cause could prosper under such a dead weight as this. This view, now generally taken, is borne out by the impressions left by the exiles in the countries where they have taken refuge. Everywhere, all homes, all hearts, all purses, have been open to them—for hard and narrow must be the hearts and homes that would not welcome and receive strangers so cruelly afflicted, and so insufferably oppressed; and everywhere the impression left seems to be the same—that the Poles undertook an enterprise for which they were not morally prepared. They could sacrifice their lives and fortunes; and they could fight bravely and most skilfully for any cause to which they would give the lustre of their arms. But something more than these things, fine as they are, is required to entitle men to the honour of the last contention for nationality: an humble industry must be united to the magnanimous courage of the battle-field; aristocratic pride must be laid down when its insignia are thrown into the common cause; and the most intense hatred of tyranny is an insufficient qualification, if it be not accompanied by an answering enthusiasm for human liberties wherever there are human hearts to be ennobled by the aspiration. Many of the Polish exiles have caught something of this enthusiasm in the countries over which they have been scattered by their revolution; but it does not appear to have been the moving force of their struggle for nationality in 1831.

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had only three years more in which to torture his patients and let their flatteries and their guineas flow in upon him; but the spirit of quackery did not die with him, nor the propensity to it in his admirers, the ignorant of the 'educated classes.' Just at the time when Long was laid in his grave, an innkeeper at York was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for manslaughter of an invalid, by administering the *Morrison's Pills* which have since sent so many to the churchyard before their time. The thing wanted evidently is such an advance of physiological and medical knowledge as shall exalt that knowledge into real science. While the best medical practice is yet but empirical, there will be unqualified as well as educated empirics, and portrait painters and innkeepers, if they can but lay hold of a specific, may number their patients by thousands.

In the midst of the incendiarism of the *Carthilles* and *Cobbetts* of the time, the popular respect for and trust in the law was enhanced by some incidents, otherwise purely painful, wherein justice was made to visit persons of 'property and standing,' as if they had had neither property nor standing. The never-ceasing and too just complaint, that the friendless and over tempted are punished with hardness and indifference, while the well friended and educated,

whose intelligence aggravates their offences are, somehow

as usual,
is tried
hot for
trespass, very wantonly, and with great
mischiefs to his victim. Captain *Moir* was hanged, as simply as his victim would have been if the act of aggression had been reversed. In the same year, a lady was convicted for shoplifting, who actually carried on her person, at the moment of the theft, the sum of £5000 in bank notes and India bonds. She underwent her punishment. In this case, if insanity had existed, it must have been proved. All parties would have been too happy to admit the plea. It was no doubt one of those cases of strong propensity for which neither our education, law, nor justice makes provision. It is a case which makes the heart bleed, but if such are not allowed for among the

poor, who have so little advantage of discipline, they cannot be among the rich, whose sin is in outrage of all restraining influences. The wretched woman of wealth suffered as if she had been a hungry mother, snatching a loaf for famishing children at home. In the next year, a Scotch clergyman, 'minister of a Gothic chapel in Edinburgh, in high repute for his evangelical preaching,' was tried on an extensive indictment for book-stealing, found guilty of eleven acts of theft, and transported for fourteen years. To set against these acts of justice—in common phrase—were a few which went as far to weaken popular trust in the law as these to strengthen it. In a very gross case of shoplifting in the autumn of 1832, by 'two young ladies of high respectability,' there was such collusion as caused the escape of the culprits: the father was forewarned of the warrant, 'that he might not be taken by surprise;' and so much time was given, that the minds of all the prosecuting parties had changed, and no one would attempt to identify the thieves. Far worse, however, were two cases, which happened near together, of erroneous verdicts and hasty sentences—cases so gross as must have made all the poor in the neighbourhood believe that a criminal trial was a sort of lottery, as they had long concluded the punishment of transportation to be. A man was convicted at Salisbury of threatening a neighbour by letter with a fire on his farm; the judge telling him with severity, that his crime was certainly not mitigated by his denial after such evidence—'evidence which must satisfy every reasonable man'—and passing on him a sentence of transportation for life. Presently, the prisoner's son came forward, and owned himself the writer of the letter, of which his father had no knowledge whatever. As more letters had been sent to neighbours, the sentenced man was tried on another accusation, which enabled him to bring forward the new evidence of his innocence. He was 'pardoned,' as the insulting phrase is; and the son, a mere youth, transported for seven years. The other case occurred only a few weeks afterwards, and was a very serious one. A receiver of stolen goods was convicted of having stolen them by an act of burglary, and sentenced to death, from which he was saved (

for by another of great importance—that a very large proportion of suicides was occasioned by that state of the brain induced by intoxication. Some surprise was felt at the proof that the smallest number of suicides occurred in the month of November, which had hitherto borne the opprobrium of this kind of slaughter.—A sensible check was from this time given to the practice of duelling by the disgust excited at a fatal duel between Sir John Jeffcott, chief justice of Sierra Leone and Dr Hennis of Exeter. Sir J Jeffcott had received his appointment and knighthood, and was on the eve of embarking for Africa, when some rattling took place at night over brandy-and-water and cigars which occasioned a challenge to Dr Hennis. He denied the words imputed to him but was called by his antagonist ‘a calumniating scoundrel,’ forced out to fight, in spite of strenuous efforts on the part of friends and shot dead, at the moment before the departure of his antagonist. Sir J Jeffcott was tried in his unavoidable absence, and acquitted as gentlemen always are in duelling cases, but he was necessarily displaced from his judicial post. He was drowned a few months afterwards by the upsetting of a boat off the coast of Africa. The vulgar, crawling character of the whole transaction, and the force put upon Dr Hennis silenced a multitude who

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impressive was that of the *Rotheray Castle* in August 1811. The *Rotheray Castle* was a battered leaky old steamer, which plied between Liverpool and St Ann's and at this time she had a captain who appears to have been unworthy of the command of any vessel. He started in rough weather, and silenced the remonstrances of all on board who implored him to put into a port of safety. She drifted and went to pieces in the night from the failure of the coal through her excessive leakage, and all her passengers

parties, her groups of tourists, her band of music, and her crew, were plunged into the deep at midnight. The captain denied that she was aground, when her cabins were filling with water—swore that there was no danger—hung out no lights—refused to fire a gun, though the lights of Beaumaris were visible in the distance—and was himself one of the first to perish. Only twenty-two persons were saved out of nearly a hundred and fifty who left Liverpool. Two men, strangers to each other, found themselves holding on to the same plank, which it soon appeared, could support only one. Each desired the other to hold on—the one, because his companion was old; the other, because his companion was young—and they quitted their grasp at the same moment. By extraordinary accidents both were saved, without the knowledge of either, and they met on shore in great surprise. Few greetings in the course of human life can be so sweet and moving as must have been that of these two heroes. Its contrast with that on the Exeter race-course shows like a glimpse into heaven and hell.

In the summer of 1833, a terrific fire consumed the bonded stores connected with the Dublin custom-house, and occasioned a vast destruction of property; though little in comparison with what might have been, if, as was for some time apprehended, the quays and the shipping had been involved in the conflagration, and if much valuable merchandise had not been stored in fire-proof vaults. The sugar-punchcons flared up like great torches in quick succession; the tallow sent columns of flame up into the night; while fiery floods of whisky rushed over the quay, pouring over the wall into the Liffey, which presented a sheet of blue flame over half its breadth, threatening the coal vessels that were drawn to the other side. The origin of the fire was never discovered; though large rewards were offered by government and the magistrates, from a suspicion of incendiarism. Men thought that they had now witnessed the most remarkable fire that would be seen in their generation; but they were mistaken; for in the next year, a conflagration occurred in which that of the Dublin custom-house stores was forgotten.

In course of centuries, the power of the Commons

won respect by a singular calmness and simplicity in the endurance of a long course of bodily suffering of great intensity. Most men would have died untimely under such pain as he endured, but his indomitable mind bore him up, and he reached the age of seventy-four.—The interest of the whole political world of Europe was engaged by one death which took place at this period. The young son of Napoleon, the Duke de Reichstadt, died at Vienna in 1832, at the age of twenty-one. The birth of the little King of Rome, as he was called in his cradle, had been regarded, in the short sightedness of men, as a mighty event, and the eyes of the world were fixed upon the child.

His attendants adored him, and from a distance many hopes waited upon him, but he was withdrawn from any possible struggle for thrones and dominations by early sickness and death. By the age of sixteen he had outgrown his strength, and consumptive tendencies encroached upon him, till he sank thus in early manhood. As he lay in state in the palace, those who passed by the bier received the most affecting lesson of the time as to the deceitfulness of worldly hopes.

In science, one of the most interesting names of the times is that of Sir John Leslie, born of an humble farmer and miller in Fifeshire, who died professor of natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. He was a sickly child, averse to books and lessons but always delighting himself in calculations and following out mathematical inquiries. This peculiarity fixed the attention of the parochial minister, and was the occasion of his being sent to St Andrews, to study for the church. He and Ivory went to Edinburgh together, neither of them probably anticipating the eminence to which both were to raise themselves. Leslie was aware that the church was not his true destination, and he declined it, becoming tutor to a nephew of Adam Smith's and to two of the Randolphs of Virginia, with whom he went to the United States. On his return, he intended to lecture on natural

philosophy, but found, to use his own words, that 'rational lectures would not succeed.' A disgraceful controversy took place between the magistrates and clergy of Edinburgh respecting his nomination to the mathematical chair in their university, in 1805; the clergy objecting to him on the ground of his having irreligiously declared Hume's *Theory of Causation* 'a model of clear and accurate reasoning.' The magistrates appointed Leslie, in disregard of the clerical opposition; and the clergy brought the affair before the General Assembly. After a discussion of two days, the assembly decided not to subordinate science and liberty of opinion to dogma propounded on an occasion of mere inference, and dismissed the appeal of the clerical objectors as 'vexations.' Mr. Leslie filled that chair till he was called to succeed Playfair in the professorship of natural philosophy, which he held till his death, in November 1832. He invented or revived the differential thermometer, and aided science in many ways by a vigorous exercise of his bold inventive and conjectural faculty, which was more remarkable in him, mathematician as he was, than his powers of reasoning and research. His pupils complained of a want of simplicity in his style, and of clearness in his arrangement; while more advanced students believed that the difficulty lay also in his overrating the powers and experience of those to whom he addressed himself. The highest order of his hearers were continually charmed with the life and vigour of his views, and the rich illustration he cast over his scientific subjects from the stores of his general reading. His experimental processes were exquisite from their ingenuity and refinements. His last production is to be found prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—a discourse on the history of mathematical and physical science during the eighteenth century. He died in his sixty-seventh year.

In the next year died a mathematician who put his science to a practical use which all could understand. William Morgan, who was for fifty-six years actuary to the Equitable Assurance Society, was a nephew of Dr. Price; and it was Dr. Price who withdrew him from the medical profession to which he was destined, and ca

having solaced themselves with the delights of art and antiquarianism left the world together. Mr Christie died on the 2nd and Mr Hope on the 3rd of February 1831—Mr Hope's name is distinguished on many grounds, that it is rather difficult to assign his place among our benefactors. From our insular position, and our being kept at home by the long war, and also from

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art, and an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, on his folio volume on *Household Furniture and Decorations*, stands as a monument of our shame. But Mr Hope triumphed, and we have gained, among other things, a lesson in modesty. It was he who first sustained Thorwaldsen, and brought the young Chantrey to light, and stimulated the mature genius of Flaxman. His town and country houses were a paradise of delights to lovers of antiquities and art. He

through his early travels in the east—to another hunter after antiquities we find ourselves more deeply indebted now than any one was aware of during his life, for John Thomas Smith, keeper of the prints and drawings at the British Museum, died the year before the burning of the houses of parliament. Mr Smith had published in the closing years of the last century *Antiquities of London*, and when in 1800 the necessity of members on account of the Irish Union compelled the enlargement of the House of Commons, and the wainscoting of St Stephen's Chapel was taken down, revealing the old paintings that were behind, Mr Smith determined on following up his former work with the *Antiquities of Westminster*. He made haste, as the workmen were always at his heels, and in the August mornings he was at work as soon as there was light enough, and painted diligently till the workmen arrived at nine o'clock, when he sometimes saw them destroy the very paintings he had just been copying. He made memoranda, matched the tints carefully, and took all pains to perfect his work, both with regard to the

paintings which were disappearing, and others which it was supposed might last for centuries. Many of the prints, coloured and gilt by his wife and himself, were lost by a fire at the printing-office where they lay; and the loss was severe; but the place given him at the British Museum provided comfortably for his latter days. He is remembered chiefly as the preserver of the antiquities of Westminster; but this was not one of the seven great things by which he used to tell that his life had been distinguished. He delighted to say: 'I received a kiss when a boy from the beautiful Mrs. Robinson—was patted on the head by Dr. Johnson—have frequently held Sir Joshua Reynolds's spectacles—partook of a pot of porter with an elephant—saved Lady Hamilton from falling, when the melancholy news arrived of Lord Nelson's death—three times conversed with George III.—and was shut up in a room with Mr. Kean's lion.' It seems a pity that he did not live a few months longer, to see the flames swallowing up the houses of parliament, and exult in the thought of what he had saved from their ravages.—Cooke, the engraver, who presented such a world of scenery to stayers at home, died in 1834, from brain fever, at the age of fifty-three; and a few weeks after him the aged Thomas Stothard, who began life as the apprentice of a pattern-designer for brocaded silks. Brocaded silks went out of fashion; and Stothard had, as the fruits of his apprenticeship, his nicety of eye and hand, and elegance of taste in designing small embellishments; and he used them in illustrating, with exquisite little designs, Bell's *British Poets*, and the *Novelists' Magazine*. These caught Flaxman's eye, and brought him that good man's friendship. He passed easily from such small works as these to painting figures seven feet high, on the staircase at Burghley House. His latest designs are seen among the illustrations of Rogers's *Poems*, bearing date 1833—some months before his death.—Peter Nasmyth, called 'the English Hobbema,' died in middle life, in 1831, with the love of his art so strong upon him, that when he was dying, and a thunder storm was sweeping by, he asked his sisters to draw aside the curtain, and lift him up, that he might watch the effects of the stormy lights.—And then went the young Liversedge,

distinguished man; but the absence of one essential element brought it down to a lower level than that of a crowd of otherwise inferior minds. With an imagination which soared above the stars, a subtlety which would have enabled him to hold his place in a council in pandemonium, a power of abstraction which should have strengthened him to put the sensuous world beneath his feet, and an eloquence which might have enslaved the human race, he had no power of will—of that virtuous will without which every man, be he who he may, is himself a slave. In Coleridge it was a constitutional defect, early marked, and fatal to his life. It was a constitutional deficiency, to be allowed for as such; but it must not be disguised that it rendered him incapable of duty—of fidelity in friendship,

airy fabrication, and

quires a broad which can be said, which in conscience must be said, the rest remains wonderful—even awful in its wonder. And the consolation of the case lies in the virtue which the power and the deficiency together called out in other men. The forbearance, the tenderness, the reverence, with which Coleridge was regarded, in the face of his vitiated life, are more than a compensation for what was wanting in himself. From the days when awe-struck schoolmates gathered round 'the inspired boy' in the cloisters at Christ's Hospital, to the present moment, when his worshippers turn away from a sound of censure, as from a desecration of his grave, he has met with that magnanimous justice which it requires some of the loftiest qualifications to command; and in this influence lay one of the chief benefits of his life. Others were the sublime faculty by which he opened to us new worlds of thought, and made the oldest new, the subtlety of analysis by

which he displayed the inner workings of what was before our eyes, before closed and impenetrable; the instinct by which he discerned relations among things which before were isolated; and the thrilling sense of beauty which he awakened by bringing all the appearances of nature into illustration of ideas before wholly abstract. Thus, his discourses on the laws and facts of thought, his dramatic criticisms, and his own poems, are full of lights and charms which hardly need the magic of his utterance to make them intoxicate the young thinker, and stimulate the faculties of the more mature. He was the wonder of his time. If he had not been subject to one great deficiency, he would have been its miracle. As it is, his fame is not likely to grow—less because his magical voice is silenced, than because his enchantment itself must be broken up by the touch of science. Even then, glorious will be the fragments that will remain. They will be truly the traces of old idolatries—not of one, but of many; for he spent his life in the worship of a succession of idols—those idols being ideas, which he called opinions, and which he was for ever changing. S. T. Coleridge was born in a Devonshire vicarage, in 1772; and he died at Highgate, on the 25th of July 1834.

A man of great benevolence, who indirectly contributed much to the great work of national education, which yet remains, for the most part, to be achieved, ought to be mentioned at the close of this period. Dr. Bell, a prebendary of Westminster, was once a chaplain in India, and there conceived the idea of extending the benefits of education by setting pupils to instruct each other. He reported his method; and it was soon adopted in England to such an extent, that he saw 10,000 schools established, attended by 600,000 children. He believed that the object of general education was gained; and so did many others. It required some years to show that nothing like education can be obtained by the ignorant teaching the ignorant. The results have been such as to disabuse the most sanguine. But public attention was turned to the instruction of the childhood and youth of the nation; and, in this sense, we may be said to be still benefiting by the introduction of the Bell and Lancaster system. Dr. Bell

classes of the nation. It is observable that while he speaks undoubtingly of his obligation to take office and heartily of his intention to toil and persevere, there is scarcely an expression in the address which indicates hope of permanence and success. Its tone is cheerful but no one could call it sanguine, and, in indicating the principles on which he means to act, he speaks for himself alone, and makes no reference to a cabinet policy, or to administrative co-operation in any way, merely declaring, in a parenthetical manner, that the sentiments of his colleagues are in entire concurrence with his own.

First, he declares himself a reformer of abuses, and points to his own great measures in regard to the currency, to criminal law, to jury trial, and other matters, in proof of his disposition to remove abuses and facilitate improvements. In the same spirit, he would accept and make operative any reform actually accomplished, whether he originally approved of it or not and he would therefore accept the Reform Bill, considering it a 'final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question,' and he would carry out its intentions supposing those to imply a careful review of old institutions, undertaken in a friendly spirit and with a purpose of improvement. Coming down to particulars, he would not interfere with the inquiry of the corporation commissioners, of which he had shown his approbation by being voluntarily a member of the parliamentary committee upon it. He had voted with government on Lord Althorpe's church rate measure, and was still willing to relieve the Dissenters from the grievance of paying church rates, and of a celebration of marriage in terms to which they conventionally objected. He would not admit the right of Dissenters to admission to the universities, but he would recommend an alteration of the regulations which prevented any of the king's subjects from being on a perfect equality with others in respect to any civil privilege. He would not countenance any retrospective inquiry into the pension list—filled, as it had been under circumstances that had passed away, but he would advocate more care in future in the conferring of pensions. As to church reform in Ireland, again, his mind was not changed by

was in favour of the best distribution, be it ever so new, of ecclesiastical property for ecclesiastical purposes ; but he could not sanction its application to any other than strictly ecclesiastical objects. He wished to see a commutation of tithe in England ; and with regard to deeper matters—the laws which govern the Church—he desired time for further thought, and opportunity for new light. The somewhat deprecatory tone of the conclusion of this address is striking now, and must have been strongly felt by all the many classes of readers who thronged to get a sight of it on the morning of its appearance. ‘I enter upon the arduous duties assigned to me with the deepest sense of the responsibility they involve, with great distrust of my own qualifications for their adequate discharge, but at the same time with a resolution to persevere which nothing could inspire but the strong impulse of public duty, the consciousness of upright motives, and the firm belief that the people of this country will so far maintain the prerogative of the king as to give to the ministers of his choice, not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial.

Such was the text on which the popular comment of the elections was to proceed. It was much more liberal than the Liberals had expected ; but when they looked at the group of colleagues behind, they distrusted the minister and his manifesto, and set vigorously to work to elect a House which should bring all his counsels to nought, and frustrate all his efforts. He could not have said that they, as Liberals, were wrong ; and neither he nor they could anticipate how their opposition would rouse his faculties and exalt his fame. This address appeared in one paper as a mere advertisement, in small type. In another, it was conspicuous as the leading article. It was immediately reprinted, throughout the country ; and it is strange now to see it standing under the heading of ‘the Tory manifesto.’ If this was its true title, Toryism had indeed changed its character, much and rapidly.

The first reformed parliament had not satisfied its constituents : it had done some wrong things, and omitted many right ones ; but it had had the great virtue of being in advance of the ill-compacted, desultory un-

administration, without the assent of parliament. That such a project should have been imputed to one political leader by another, in our day, is a remarkable indication of the disturbance of the general mind. Lord John Russell declared that he should avoid putting the direct question whether these things were true, but that he intended to test the disposition of the cabinet by bringing forward at a time of which he gave notice, the appropriation question, and that of municipal reform. The premier's reply was clear and frank. He had never discussed or proposed anywhere a speedy dissolution of parliament, but it was not his business to place in abeyance by any declaration of his, the royal prerogative of dissolving parliament and thus, as he observed, was a fuller reply than Lord Grey had given to the well remembered question of Lord Wharncliffe on the same subject. As to the Irish Church question, he and his colleagues were anxious that the commission should prosecute their labours, as yet only half finished, and when they had furnished the requisite inform

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principle

applied only to strictly ecclesiastical purposes, but being ready to amend the distribution of that property, when the requisite evidence should be complete. There was no objection on the part of the government to any needful reform of corporation abuses, but neither they, nor any body else, could declare what such reforms should be till the commissioners should have offered their report. As for the rumour about the maintenance of the army without the sanction of parliament, he had never heard the subject mentioned till that night. The same kind of a rapid inquiry was made of Lord Aberdeen in the Upper House about the carrying out of the Emancipation Act in the West Indies, when the colonial secretary declared that no one could be more anxious than himself—whose first vote had been against slavery—that the act should be completely carried out, and he had written to Lord Sligo to entreat him to return in his office of governor of Jamaica and to comply with his work without any raving on account of the change of administration at home.

On the next great subject of discussion, men of all parties united on either side. Lord Chandos proposed, to the embarrassment of the government which he usually supported, the repeal of the malt-duty—the promise of which boon to the farmers was believed to have greatly influenced the elections. Many Whig and Radical members agreed with the premier that such a proposition could not be entertained before the financial condition of the country was known; that there was no reason to suppose that the surplus in the treasury could meet such a demand; that it was not the barley-growers whose distress now called for attention, as the price of barley had been rising for a considerable period; and that it was extremely doubtful whether the farmers would be peculiarly benefited by the repeal of the duty. On the division, Mr. Grote and Mr. Hume were found voting on opposite sides; and three members of the late government spoke in support of Sir Robert Peel against the motion of his own adherent: the strife of party was visible only in the sarcasms thrown out in the course of debate; and the majority against the repeal of the malt-tax was 158.

On the next occasion of defeat, the administration had little sympathy from any quarter. They had made an indefensible appointment to an office of high importance, and they had to take the consequences; and the premier among others, not only because his was the first responsibility in such cases—however his opinion might be overruled in private—but because he attempted a lamentable defence in parliament of an appointment which could in no view be justified. Early in January, the following paragraph appeared in the *Times* newspaper: ‘We notice, merely to discountenance, an absurd report, that Lord Londonderry has been, or is to be, named ambassador to St. Petersburg. The rumour is a sorry joke.’ It was no joke. If all England had been searched for a man whose politics were most like those of the Emperor of Russia, Lord Londonderry might well have been chosen; and he was now to be sent to represent the mind of England to the Emperor of Russia—now, when the affairs of Turkey were in a state to require the most accurate representation of the opinion of Great Britain—now, when Poland was

it with originality and life, clothes it with a proper organisation, and produces it in his day of power, acknowledging whence he derived it, but secretly conscious that but for him it would never have been thus matured. Such has been the process, so repeatedly and so conspicuously of late years on our platform of government, that men in high places have begun to understand it like the crowd below, and we hear less complaint with every change of government, of a borrowing or stealing of the thoughts of rivals, but, during the short Peel administration of 1835, such complaints were abundant, and very bitter.

This short administration was now approaching its close. On the twenty-fourth of March, the minister was outvoted about the functions of a committee to inquire into a charge of intimidation at the late Chatham election, by an officer in command there. On the 26th another defeat was sustained on the question of the London University charter. The grounds of proceeding about this charter had been examined by the privy-council, and, during the period of "been done about it," while [unclear] against any permis-
[unclear] to grant degrees of the same denominations as those of the ancient universities—not objecting as they declared to the grant of a charter, or the power of conferring academical honours—but desiring to keep appropriate to themselves the titles of honour which should prove that those who bore them belonged to the Established Church, and had graduated at Oxford or Cambridge. The motion on the present occasion was for an address to the king beseeching him to grant such a charter to the London University as was approved by the law-officers of the crown in 1831 and containing no other restriction than against conferring degrees in divinity and in medicine. The proposers declared on being questioned, that the reason why they brought forward this motion now was that they had no longer the hope which existed in the days of a Liberal government of the admission of Dissenters to the old universities, and if such admission could not be obtained, they must seek for it even in the social career by acquiring such privileges as could be

for the one university which was open to them. The government amendment was one which did no credit to anybody concerned in it, and was, perhaps, the most damaging act of Sir Robert Peel's short term of office. It was of an obstructive character which could not be mistaken—addressing the king for copies of the memorials presented against the project of a charter, together with an account of the proceedings before the privy-council. This was practically a reverting to the old wrong of considering the Dissenters an inferior and disgraced body, and excluding them from any fair chance in professional life; and the wrong was too flagrant for the times, strong as was the spirit of bigotry, and the habit of prejudice among the classes from which the legislature is selected. The time was come when either the old universities must throw their gates wide to Dissenters, or they must abstain from interference with that honourable and conscientious body—withheld by honour and conscience from winning university privileges—in obtaining justice by another mode. The government was left in a minority of 136 to 246. The king's reply to the address was gracious; but for several months after the return of the Whigs to power, nothing more was heard of the matter. By the next August, the pressure of the government by the council had become such as to procure a proposal which was at once accepted by all the parties concerned in the university—that a body of men of science and scholarship should be incorporated by charter in London, for the purpose of examining candidates and conferring degrees in arts, medicine, and laws on not only students educated in the one college in question, but in others in London, now specified, and also some in the country to be afterwards recognised. This satisfied all reasonable persons. The Dissenters desired justice, and not a monopoly; and the proposed extension conferred dignity, while securing enlarged usefulness. On the 28th of November 1836, two charters were granted—one to constitute the University of London, hitherto so called, 'University College, London,' for 'the general advancement of literature and science, by affording to young men adequate opportunities of obtaining literary and scientific education at a moderate expense'—the other charter creat-

ing the 'University of London.' The proceeding, however, bore the ordinary character of the executive acts of the Whigs; it was imperfect, if not illegal—the instrument bearing the words, without qualification, 'during royal will and pleasure.' These words doomed the charter to expire within six months after the death of William IV. Queen Victoria, as advised, reissued it, and granted a new one on a better tenure.

27th of December 1837

declared to be to hold out the encouragements of the institution 'without any distinction whatsoever,' a declaration so clear as deeply to discredit an attempt made in the next year to introduce, in the form of optional discipline, a test which should establish 'distinctions' on account of differing modes of faith. It was Dr Arnold who tried the unhappy experiment, and he failed, as the best intentioned man must do who attempts to force his personal convictions on a public institution in opposition to its leading principle, and the express terms of its charter. The university remains equal in its operations to all, on the broad ground of the equal rights of all, without fear or favour, to liberty of opinion.

To return to the last nights of the Peel administration. There was a recurrence of party conflict at every practicable interval—the opposition leaders reproaching Sir R. Peel with perilling the prerogatives of the crown, and troubling the course of legislation by attempting to govern without a majority in the Commons; and Sir R. Peel inviting a vote of want of confidence as a ground and as the only ground on which he would be willing to retire.

two or three weeks of such antagonism as this, the Whigs chose their opportunity. Their topic was the appropriation question; their time, the 30th of March.

On the 2nd of March, Lord John Russell had intimated that he should bring forward the whole subject of the Irish Church in the latter part of the month, in order to test the position of the ministry with regard to the country. He waited till then for the reports of the commission. A fortnight later, he had doubts of receiving the reports, and declared them not necessary to his argument, but desirable for the satisfaction of members. On the 18th, he suggested that it would be well to wait for a partial report, which would soon be in the hands of members; on the 19th, he fixed his motion, with notice of a call of the House, for the 30th; and on the 20th, he formally relinquished every kind of demand of reports, because none would be ready, and he must proceed without them. The 30th, now, was to be the great day of assertion of the distinctive principle of the Whig government, which was to serve as a test of the power of the existing administration, and as the instrument of their overthrow—the distinctive principle at that period, but not for long; for it was dropped presently after the return of the Whigs to power, and has never been heard of from them since. The conflict now under notice cannot be judged of without the retrospective light cast on it by this fact.

There had been an introductory debate on the ministerial resolutions which proposed to convert Irish tithe into a rent-charge, redeemable under such conditions as should secure the redemption; and in this debate the opposition were divided—some objecting to the measure, and others complaining that it was a mere reproduction of the last Whig measure on the same subject; some desiring to proceed, and others thinking it essential to have the decision of the House on the appropriation question first. In consequence of these differences, the ministers carried their resolution. On the 30th, Lord John Russell repeated his proposition that the House should resolve itself into a committee for the purpose of considering the state of the Irish Church, with a view to applying any surplus left

had to make bitter complaints of the indifference of the people to it. It is much to be wished that the continued existence of the Peel administration of 1835 had been put upon some other issue. The resolutions in favour of appropriation, proposed by Lord J. Russell, were carried by the Scotch and Irish members, the English leaving the motion in a minority of nine. Of the Scotch members, 32 were in favour of it, and 17 against it. Of the Irish members, 64 voted with the opposition, and 37 with the government. The majority against ministers was 31, in a House of 611 members. The division took place at three o'clock in the morning of the 3rd of April.

In committee, Lord J. Russell moved a resolution, that no measure on the subject of tithes in Ireland could succeed which did not embody the appropriation principle, and he obtained a majority of 27. This was on the 7th of April. On the 8th, Sir R. Peel announced the resignation of the cabinet. He avowed that it was with great re-

especially that of Irish tithes, which required immediate adjustment, but must now be cast aside. But they considered that, on the whole, it would be more hurtful still to the public service to continue the attempt to govern the country, unsupported by the confidence of the House of Commons—a confidence which, as was shown by our impressive defeats they did not possess. There was no Sir Robert Peel must have known, no need of professions of personal disinterestedness for the whole temper and conduct of the minister during the last five months has been a consistent silent assertion of right feelings, as well as of the most eminent ability. Every one knew that he had had no option about undistaking office, and every one felt as he did that he had failed only because a party had been, as yet, too strong for him. The opposition had gained nothing during the interval, in general estimation, while he had gained as much as was possible in the time. At this day, there are many who are well that the effects of prejudice dissolved from before their minds in the course

of these five months; and that they now for the first time began to apprehend the character and appreciate the powers of Sir Robert Peel—a character so peculiar as to require a long observation to obtain a true view of it; and powers which had not, even yet, fully revealed themselves to those who knew him best.

The cheering of the whole House at the conclusion of his speech was long in subsiding. When anything else could be heard, Lord J. Russell said that ‘he did not wish to make any comment on what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman, except to express his opinion that the right honourable gentleman had acted entirely in the spirit of the constitution.’

Now, then, the reformers were to have another trial with the king and the country.

CHAPTER II.

Difficulties—The Melbourne Administration—Lord Melbourne—Mr. Charles Grant—Lord John Russell—Irish Administration—Two Great Questions—The Irish Church—Appropriation Question—Church Rates—Surrender of the Appropriation Principle.

THERE was an interval of ten days before the king and country could feel that there was a government to rely on. It was a season of anxious expectation to all; but few were aware how many and how serious were the causes of anxiety.

The king sent first for Lord Grey, who declined office, but gave his best advice—which was to send for Lord Melbourne. Thus, the character of the administration might certainly be anticipated; but what were they to do? By choosing the Irish Church question for the overthrow of the Peel administration, the Whigs had pledged themselves to carry the appropriation principle into practice without delay—even in connection with the pressing affair of the tithes; whereas the king was not only understood to be opposed to any innovations upon the privileges of the

Church, but was remembered to have spontaneously and eagerly pledged himself to the bishops to resist all such innovations. Again, their present victory had been gained by means of the Irish members who might and would fairly presume upon the fact and who must be specially considered in the impending legislation for Ireland; whereas O'Connell had recently been pledging himself, in the hearing of all the world, to obtain organic changes of the greatest importance, and, in the first place, a reform of the House of Lords as sweeping as that of the Commons, and, as usual, he promised a speedy repeal of the union. Again, the Whigs had not among them any man of very eminent ability in statesmanship, while many were sufficiently distinguished for talent to be entitled each to set up for himself in regard to the work of his own department. In such a case, the absence of any controlling or harmonising mind—of any mind which could be truly called that of a statesman—was fatal to all chance of firm and effective rule. Thus it appeared to the most thoughtful people throughout the country, who, remembering how the last Whig administration had disappointed expectation, considered the present prospect to be anything but exhilarating. The king could not have forgotten these facts, either, nor his alarm at the promised passage of political arms between Lords Brougham and Peel in the winter, from which but for the intervention of the Peel ministry, might have arisen a new struggle between the halting and the advancing reformers. Such a struggle might now probably be expected for the whole country was aware that the radical reform party must become of importance, both as stimulus and support to the Whigs, who were almost powerless without them. It was believed to be an earnest wish of the king, that such a conflict of liberal parties and leaders should be avoided, and that it was a positive stipulation of his that Lord Brougham should not return to the wicket. Lord Derby himself did not permit of his taking office at the court, lest it did not interfere with his filling a diplomatic function abroad. So we soon find him in the post office, presiding at the table to Russia. The great seal was for some time in the hands of either from the difficulty of finding a candidate, or from

the danger of making an enemy of Lord Brougham, who was one of the perplexities of the crisis. It had been found impossible to act with him; but it was dangerous and painful to have him for an enemy. If there was any alternative besides these, it was not found. He presently came out broadly in the character of an enemy; and even Lord Melbourne's good humour and indifference were insufficient to bear up his temper, courage, and spirits, under the hostility of his former colleague—unremitting and bitter as it was, and protracted from session to session—not a little affecting, as we shall see, the political action of the time.

The country was aware of this complication of difficulties; the king felt it keenly—the new ministers alone seemed undismayed by it. It was their way to be confident; and now they were exulting and gay, though the embarrassment of forming themselves into a government was great. It was the 8th of April when Sir R. Peel and the Duke of Wellington announced their relinquishment of office; and it was not till the 18th, after repeated adjournments of the Commons, that the new administration was declared to be completed. Lord Melbourne was the premier; and in his announcement to the Lords, he spoke of the difficulties of the government as 'great and arduous—many, indeed, of a peculiar and severe kind.' Lord Melbourne, however, was understood to be more teased than dismayed by difficulties. He felt more than he chose to show; for it was his chief fault to affect a *poco-curante* character of mind, unworthy of his sound sense, his actual diligence, and his disinterested love of his country. His patriotism took the form of a love of peace and quiet for society; and that love of peace and quiet proceeded, in a great degree, from the speculative character of his intellect. His views were too comprehensive and too abstract to permit him to perceive the importance of particular questions and particular acts, or to engage his sympathies in temporary occasions, when other men were ardent and resolute. He was not one who would ever stimulate the public mind, or concentrate its energies on prominent ideas or definite enterprises. When occasions arose, he regarded them with philosophy, with sincerity, and with much of the

would be a breach of faith to the Irish Church to apply its funds out of its own pale and for any but strictly ecclesiastical purposes. The chancellor of the exchequer stated that the House had decided, after long debates, that the question of appropriation was connected with the concession to the tithe-owners of the £1,000,000 advanced to them in preceding years. He conceived that this precluded the division of the measure into two parts, and he declared the purpose of this partition to be to get rid of the appropriation clause—which was undoubtedly true. Lord Morpeth warned the legislature of the consequences of drawing back from the resolutions recently passed in that House. The Irish were now aware that parliament knew of the parishes vacant of Protestants—of the churches without flocks—of the incomes paid for no service—of the provision for the extension of that Protestantism which was not extending—of the desperate poverty and ignorance of the Catholic peasantry who had hitherto been called upon to pay, instead of to benefit by these funds. And now that these things were admitted—now that the principle of appropriation had been sanctioned by that House—it was too late to recede. On a division, the ministers had a majority of 37—the number being made up not only by Irish members but by a majority of 8 among the English and Scotch members. The bill was now sent to the Lower House, and the ministers proceeded to add in committee, a clause providing for the advance of £50,000, from the consolidated fund in anticipation of the savings to accrue, for purposes of general education in Ireland. The reason for this was that there was said to be much exasperation in some Irish parishes where the new arrangements were not to take effect during the life of the present incumbents, and it was believed that the safety and tranquillity of these clergymen would be promoted by a beginning of the educational expenditure being made at once. The radical reformers opposed the extension of the £1,000,000 advanced as a loan, and the ministers admitted the encroachment on the prerogative of the legislature, but pleaded the much more serious evil which would ensue from attempts to transfer what was irrecoverable. The bill passed the Commons on the 17th

of August, and was read a second time in the Lords on the 20th. In committee, the Lords struck out all the appropriation clauses, by a majority of 97, in a House of 179. The ministers abandoned the whole bill; and thus the matter stood over till the next year. It was a great evil, in the existing state of the Irish Church; but it was felt to be worth enduring for the sake of the essential principle involved in the measure—a principle by which not only the Whig administration, but the connection of England and Ireland, and the religious liberties of a nation, must ultimately stand or fall. If, three years later, the Whig administration drew back from their obligation to stand or fall by this principle, neither they nor any other human power could alter its relation to the political connection of Ireland, and to the religious liberties of a nation.

The struggle was renewed the next spring. On the 25th of April, Lord Morpeth brought forward the tithe measure, about which the two parties in both Houses would have agreed, if it had stood without the appropriation provision. This last was not brought forward in the express and conspicuous manner of preceding years; but Lord Morpeth gave notice that it was involved inextricably in the bill. As yet, ministers were evidently resolved to stand or fall by it. He was now able to declare that there would certainly be a surplus—he believed of nearly £100,000; but it would not be available for a considerable time. Lord Stanley moved an amendment, consisting of a proposal of the tithe measure, without reference to appropriation. Amidst the general resemblance of the debates in successive years, there are interesting divergences of topic, and changes of views to be noticed. This year, there were three at least that were remarkable. The opposition had certainly advanced considerably in their estimate of the reforms that were essential to the maintenance of the Irish Church. They spoke more freely of the disgrace of the spectacle of an overpaid and an underpaid clergy within the same area; they were more earnest about equalisation of incomes, and more bold about the prosecution of the needful inquiries. Another most pregnant fact was that Lord

the principle Sir Thomas Acland's motion for rescinding the memorable resolutions was lost by a majority of only 19. When the time arrived for the tithe debate—the 2nd of July—the appropriation question was once more brought forward by one who had never wavered upon it and who was universally admitted to be, from his early action and subject—Mr . and the effe

ministers Referring to a pamphlet which, in 1835, had foretold that Sir R. Peel must go out upon this question, he said 'The right honourable baronet adhered to his opinions, sacrificed place and power to his opinions and ceased to be a minister, but they must have a new edition of the pamphlet to tell them how those who rose into power upon the right honourable baronet's fall could now adopt his opinions and make them their rule upon this occasion and do so without the sacrifice of character and station.' The only minister who offered any reply to Mr. Ward was Lord Morpeth, and he made no reference to the main point of the difficulty. He dwelt upon the courage and perseverance of ministers in having three times asserted their principle, and on their prudence and love of peace shown in dropping it now. But he said nothing of any obligation to resign. Mr. Ward's motion was, of course, lost by a large majority—the ministers themselves voting against it. But his speech was not lost, and it has probably not yet fulfilled all its purposes. A principle may be trodden down, but it can never be extinguished. When the one in question revives, and men turn back to the history of the struggle they may take warning and guidance from the record. While studying it, they will pause upon the words of another highly principled member, Mr. Grote, who said, in regard to this transaction that it afforded melancholy proof of the way in which great principles were made subservient to party purposes, and that he believed history would note this as one of the most discreditably instances of tergiversation on record. The Whig government now evinced a moral scepticism equal to that of Sir James Graham on the same subject. They praised their own 'wisdom'

in not sacrificing the substance to the shadow, and their devotion to the general good in surrendering a principle which was found not to be generally appreciated.

It is true, the principle was not generally appreciated; and government was not duly supported in upholding it; but not the less for this were the ministers lowered in the estimation of the nation at large. It might be only the thoughtful, and those familiarised with the philosophy of society, who saw the whole scope of the controversy, and were interested in it accordingly; but all could see—and most did see—that the Whig ministry did not govern the people, but was governed by them, and took, not merely suggestion and stimulus from the popular will, but guidance and control. There was less demonstration of disapprobation at the moment than earnest men hoped, and perhaps than the ministers feared; but they never recovered a high position in the respect and confidence of the country.

Such is the history of the appropriation question which determined the return of the Whigs to power in 1835.

CHAPTER III.

Second Great Question—Municipal Reform—Corporation Commission—Rise and History of Municipal Institutions—Report of Commissioners—Existing State of Things—Principle of the Case—Defects of the Reform—Substance of the Bill—The Bill in the Commons—In the Lords—it becomes Law.

ON their return to power, in April 1835, the Whig ministers had, as we have seen, promised two leading measures during the session. We have pursued the history of one. The other is the large and just measure which, next to reform of parliament, is their chief title to honourable remembrance. It was during the session of 1835 that the Municipal Reform Bill was carried.

This measure could not precede parliamentary reform; but it was sure to follow it. It could not precede parlia-

corruption was to be exposed, and whose gains were to be abolished. In the worst towns, there was the strongest body of corrupt or bigoted officials who held the worst portion of the inhabitants under their control, while those who most desired reform were precisely those who were least in a position to make themselves heard. The noble-minded operative who had refused £50 for his vote was borne down by the noisy, tipsy freeman, whose 'loyalty' was very profitable to him. The benevolent and painstaking quiet citizen who strongly suspected that the funds of an orphan girls' school went to support a brothel, or who could never obtain admission to a charity trust because it was supposed that he would remonstrate against the frequent banquet at the expense of the trust—the peaceable Dissenter who found himself put aside in times of public danger, because the loyal corporation charged him with wishing to burn down the cathedral—the unexceptionable tradesman, who found himself cut out by the idle and unskilful, because they had corporation connection—such men as these had no chance of being heard against the sharp and unscrupulous lawyers, the pompous aldermen, the rabble of venal voters, and the compact body of town-contractors, who clamoured, as for life, for the maintenance of things as they were. Then there were the thoughtless and ignorant who loved the city shows—the mayor's feast, the election processions, the fun and riot of the ward-elections—the antique pageantry of some old towns, with their grim dragon carried about the streets, and the prancing St. George, and the Whiffers in pink and blue, with their wooden swords; an antique pageantry which wiser people than themselves would be sorry to see no more. And again, there were the anxious Conservatives and the positive old Tories, who believed that the world would come to an end if long standing institutions were meddled with. What could the plaints of the sick and the aged and the orphan, and the indignation of the disinterested, and the protest of the excluded, and the appeal of the obscure, do amidst the hubbub of desperate wrongdoers and exasperated haters of change? Hitherto they could do nothing but complain; but now they might hope, and they could speak. In every corporate town sat men

sent on purpose to hear all that could be told. Great was the consternation at first; and fiercer grew the threats and clamour, every day, from the highest to the lowest of those who dreaded change. No one can forget what he saw of the action of opposition in any part of that scale. At the lowest end were the insolent and profligate freemen, who earned bread, and the drink in which they rolled about the streets, by selling their votes, and who would never want a market while the corporate funds remained untouched, and the account-books kept secret. These swaggerers swore to put the Duke of Cumberland on the throne if any ministry dared to look into their resources. At the end of the scale sat he in whom was embodied the rank old Toryism which was only waiting to depart with him from our social life of England. Lord Eldon fitly headed the scale of the angry and the alarmed. 'He protested loudly in private,' we learn from a contemporary sketch of him, 'with feverish alarm,' against the measure, 'as leading directly to confusion. Its interference with vested rights shocked his sense of equity even more than the sweeping clauses of the Reform Act. To set at nought ancient charters as so many bits of decayed parchment, and destroy the archives of town-halls, seemed in the eyes of the old magistrate, for so many years the guardian of corporate rights, a crowning iniquity. Pale as a marble statue, and confined to his house in Hamilton Place by infirmity, he would deprecate equally the temerity of ministers and the madness of the people; and his vaticinations, like the prophet's scroll, were full to overflowing with lamentation and woe. His correspondence, for some years previously, had borne marks of the troubled gloom with which he viewed the changes gradually darkening over all he had loved and venerated, till he felt almost a stranger to the institutions of his native land.'

'The opposition was incalculable; and might have been supposed unmanageable; yet, so flagrant were the abuses, that at last it required less than half of one session of parliament—from June to September—to carry into law a thorough reform of the municipal institutions of England and Wales.'

The abolition of abuses, flagrant as they might be, was

corporate rights to their corporate successors. The town council is the great ruling body of the borough. The wards elect the councillors, whose number was, as has been said, apportioned after the passing of the act by barristers who visited the boroughs for the purpose. The council administers, by its committees, all the local business—the constabulary appointments, and the paving and lighting, and the body in conclave appoint their own officers, decree the expenditure of the borough fund and the leasing of land and buildings, and they have the power of making bye-laws for the prevention and suppression of nuisances, and other objects of minor legislation. All needful safeguards against corruption are provided by making committees responsible to the whole council, by the appointment of auditors of accounts who shall not themselves be councillors at the time, and by the regulations that all town accounts shall be published, that two-thirds of the council shall be present at the passing of any bye-law, and that forty days shall be allowed to the secretary of state to object to such bye-law, and procure its disallowance by the sovereign. A property qualification for the office of councillor is requisite. One-third of the council go out, and are supplied by annual election on the 1st of November.

The mayor is chosen from among the councillors, and he must serve or pay a fine of £100. He presides over the public acts of the borough during his year of office, is for that time and the next year a justice of the peace, revises the registration with the assessors, and sanctions the lists by his signature in open court, and is made returning-officer on occasion of election to parliament.

The function of alderman is somewhat anomalous under the new act, into which it was introduced by the Lords, more, as it appears, from a clinging to old names and forms than from any clear idea of what there was for aldermen to do. By their remaining in office six years, and half going out every three years while their body includes one third of the whole council the regulation for replenishing the council by new members to the number of one-third annually is set aside. They are little more

than councillors having precedence of others, and being removable at the end of six years instead of three.

The town-clerk and treasurer are appointed by the council. The first has to keep in safety the charter-deeds and records of the borough; to make out the registration lists; keep the minutes of the council, and be subject to their direction. The treasurer is responsible for his accounts to the auditors, to whom he is to submit them half-yearly. The auditors are annually elected by the burgesses on the 1st of March. The assessors are elected in like manner.

The power was reserved to the crown of appointing such justices of the peace as government may think proper, also such salaried police-magistrates as the borough may apply for; and again, a recorder for a single borough, or for two or more in conjunction, provided the councillors of such town or towns desire to have a recorder, show cause for such an appointment, and prove that they can pay his salary. Boroughs having a recorder have separate courts of quarter-sessions of the peace, such courts being co-equal in powers with similar courts for counties.

All church property in the hands of the old corporations was required to be sold under the direction of the ecclesiastical commissioners, the proceeds to be invested in government securities, and the annual interest to form a part of the borough fund. Towns not at that time incorporated might obtain a charter of incorporation by petition to the privy-council. Some of the largest towns in England obtained charters by this method within a few years after the passing of the act.

It was on the 5th of June that Lord John Russell introduced the Municipal Reform Bill to the House of Commons. By the cordial union of the Whig and Radical parties, it was passed rapidly and safely through the Lower House. The difficulty was with the peers, who carried one amendment after another against ministers; and among others, a decision to hear counsel for the existing corporations, which delayed the progress of the measure for some time. The opposition was, as might be expected, about the rights of property—the property of poor men, it was insisted, and therefore to be the more

of 2 years imprisonment some of them signed a paper declaratory of their shame and sorrow at their impious decision and at the acts to which it had led them. Some who could not sign their names, declared the same thing among their old neighbours. Very few of the band could read and write.

It was not likely that such evils as were indicated by this event would be reached by a commission of Church dignitaries inquiring into property and income, and unpractised in dealing with the popular mind, but, small as was the expectation of all parties, the result in eight years disappointed even that. The number of benefices and churches whose incomes had been augmented by the ecclesiastical commissioners for England was in that time 469 and the augmentation amounted, in the whole, to the sum of £25 779. The church would certainly not save the people or itself in this way, and it was well that other measures were attempted.

The ecclesiastical commissioners were incorporated by act of parliament in 1836, their number then consisting of thirteen and including several members of the government. One of their first operations was a rearrangement of episcopal sees. Two new sees—those of Ripon and Manchester—were created, and four of the old ones were consolidated into two—Gloucester being united to Bristol, and St Asaph to Bangor. After this the chief work of the commissioners was making the redistribution whose result, after eight years has been mentioned. It was felt by most reasonable people that the less they expected the better, after hearing that the commissioners did not find that any process of redistribution could render the income

the bishop—
the amount
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against seduction by future maniacs and blasphemers. Something more than this must be done.

In 1838 an act passed, the object of which was to correct the abuse of non residence—to render it impossible henceforth for the beneficed clergyman to be absent, at his own

pleasure, from the field of his duties, while enjoying the proceeds of his living. If absent for between three months and six, for other than professional purposes, without a licence, he must forfeit a third of the income from his benefice; if between six and eight months, half the income; if twelve months, three-fourths of the income. These requisitions were not new; but they were to be fenced about with strong securities. Before granting the licence, the bishop must be satisfied that the intended absentee has provided a proper substitute, duly salaried. Other regulations came in with this—methods by which the bishop can keep himself informed of the condition of the parishes under the care of his clergy, and not only check the tempting practice of non-residence, but form some idea of the state of the relation between the pastors and their flocks. This was a great improvement, not only as securing to the flocks the presence of their pastors, but as discouraging the entrance into the service of the Church of men who have no taste for its duties, but come in, merely for a maintenance. The condition of residence is as terrible or disgusting to such a class of clergy as it is welcome to those who are worthy of their function. Great as this improvement was, much more was wanted; and two years after, another considerable step was taken.

In 1840, an act was passed which made a great sweep of abuses, and applied the accruing funds to good purposes. It abolished many ecclesiastical sinecures, or deprived the holders of their emoluments; it abolished the old self-elected deans and chapters, decreeing that deans should be appointed by the crown, and canons by the bishops; it authorised the purchase and suppression of sinecure rectories in private patronage, and the devotion of the proceeds to the spiritual wants of the people at hand or elsewhere. All the profits arising from these proceedings were to form a fund at the disposal of the commissioners, for the supply of the most pressing spiritual needs which came to their knowledge. There was a good deal of outcry, from the clergy as well as others, about granting such powers as this bill conveyed to such a body of functionaries—placed so high above the level of popular feeling—as constituted the ecclesiastical commission. Pages might be filled with

rescind the order in council for the appointment of the board of privy-council. A debate which was renewed at intervals for some weeks brought out the views of a variety of members on the whole education question, and the reader sees, with a sort of amazement, that a member here and there set himself to prove that in France there was least crime where ignorance was most dense, and desired the House to infer that the innocence of the masses was in proportion to their inability to read and write. In the Commons, the ministers obtained their grant by a majority of only two, and in the Lords, an address to the sovereign, like that proposed by Lord Stanley moved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was carried by a majority of 111. The Lords carried up the address sincerely believing, no

received their rebuke from the clear voice of their young queen, who saw, under the guidance of her ministers, the full enormity of the claim of the Church to engross the education of the nation. There was nothing in the present condition of the people—about Canterbury for instance as one of the National Schools, to induce

—if the education in those schools had been as good as it then was proved to be bad, and if the Church had been really educating all who did not expressly belong to dissenting bodies, the claim of the Church, that the government should not countenance and aid the efforts of Dissenters by sending help through the hands of the privy-council committee, was too monstrous not to be rebuked as it was by the royal reply. The queen was sensible of their Lordships' zeal for religion and

question, reminded their Lordships that by a reports they would always know what was done by the

committee, and have opportunity for objection or control; and finally, hoped that it would appear that the grants had been expended with strict fidelity to the purposes of parliament, to the rights of conscience, and the security of the Established Church.

The clergy, with few exceptions, henceforth refused to permit participation in these grants; and the quarrel between the Church and the government, in regard to the principles of administration of the grants for education, has been revived, from time to time, and is not settled at this day. One good result of the proceedings of the session of 1839 was that a strong effort was made to extend, and also to improve, the National Schools. The Church party wished to test and bring out the strength of its own body; and also to compensate the clergy who had conscientiously refused participation in the government grants. The chief solace to the observer of these melancholy contentions of bigotry with the needs of the time was in seeing how the Church became roused to some sense of her duty towards the ignorant and the poor, and how the great subject of popular education was at last making its way to the front on the platform of public interests. The struggle with which each step was attended showed, in a stronger light than any one had anticipated, the utter blindness of a large number of educated Protestants, in or outside of the British parliament, to the rights of the universal mind and conscience—of the mind to knowledge, and of the conscience to equal liberty; but the more this blindness was exhibited, the less mischief there was in it, and the more likely were the friends of popular enlightenment to understand and agree how to proceed.

Among these friends of popular enlightenment must certainly be considered the Melbourne administration and that which succeeded it. The Whig ministers made the beginning which has been detailed; and their successors carried out their plan with a zeal and fidelity for which they merited and obtained high honour. By this scheme, the Church was offered the opportunity which she seemed to need for regaining some of the honour she had lost, and retrieving some of the disgrace under which she had

It was true that Auld Reekie caught up the sound and that the Calton Hill and Arthur's Seat re-echoed with the cry. O'Connell had a magnificent reception by the Edinburgh trades and the United Irishmen, and the Calton Hill was covered with a dense mass of the well-dressed inhabitants of the city. 'The reception of O'Connell by the immense assembly,' we are told, 'combined solemnity with enthusiasm.' But the enthusiasm melted away, and the cry died out, without producing any effect on the constitution of the Lords' House. O'Connell could not lead a political reform anywhere but in Ireland, and his mission began with every advantage.

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Municipal Bill by the

Mr Roebuck declared

his intention of moving for leave to bring forward, in the next session, a bill for the removal of the veto possessed by the House of Lords substituting for this veto a suspensive power which should cause the reconsideration of any measure which the peers should object to, but which suspensive power should not intercept the royal assent to any bill after its second passage through the Commons. Mr Hume gave notice the same night, that he should move, early in the next session, for a select committee to inquire into the constitution and condition of the House of Peers—who the peers were, how qualified, and how they discharged their duties. Some amusement was caused by Mr Hume's courageous repudiation of all poetical feeling, and all antiquarian associations when he complained of 'the farce' of the forms of conference between the Lords and Commons, when the peers were seated and covered, and the Commons standing and bare-headed—'to exchange two bits of paper,' as Mr Hume said. He saw nothing of the old days which his words called up before the minds eye of those who heard him the days when the peers were like princes, each with a little army at his call, and when the unwarlike burgeois representatives really did half worship or tremble before the valorous nobles of the land. It might be time as Mr. Hume thought, to give up forms which had ceased to

contain any truth; but Mr. Hume's way of setting about it amused some people, and shocked others, with the sense that he did not know what he was about. But, before that day twelvemonths, Mr. Hume stood higher than any other man in the House or in the kingdom, in connection with the people's quarrel with the House of Lords. By him, the Lords had, by that time, been humbled, awed, brought to their senses; and this by no vulgar clamour or extreme devices, but by industry, and sagacity, and courage applied in ascertaining and revealing facts which placed the most insolent of the peers at the mercy of the crown and the Commons. Of this matter, however, the members were not generally aware on this 2nd of September 1835; and a third notice of motion was added to those of Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Hume. Mr. Cuthbert Rippon gave notice that, next session, he should ask leave to bring in a bill to relieve the archbishops and bishops from their attendance in the House of Lords.

After the prorogation, the various political parties and leaders were watched with anxiety by the enlightened Liberals of the country, who saw that something must be done to remove the obstructive quality of the peers, if the legislation of the country was to proceed at all, in pursuance of the purposes of the Reform Bill. The ministers were watched. Some of them used strong language on public occasions respecting the recent conduct of the obstructive peers; and on Mr. O'Connell's return to Ireland, after his 'mission' was concluded, he was invited to dine with the lord-lieutenant—an incident which was regarded by the Tory peers as a declaration of war on the part of the viceroy. On the other hand, Lord John Russell made a public and emphatic avowal that he was opposed to all further organic change; and the government newspapers declared, now without comment, and now with expressions of regret, that no views of any important modification of the structure of the Upper House were at present held by the administration. Few of any party doubted that Lord John Russell would learn to see the necessity of reform, by some means or other. There was a strong party in parliament, and a large body of the nation occupied in thinking of what should be

done, and, on the whole, the conclusion in the autumn of 1835, was that the subject was ripe for discussion, but that it must take more than one session to bring the matter to a practical issue. There were few who imagined how prodigiously the inflation of the insolent section of the peers would have subsided, without danger of organic change, before the close of the next session.

On the 26th of April 1836, Mr Rippon made his promised motion to release the spiritual peers from their attendance in parliament. It was opposed by Lord John Russell on the plea that it would lead to no practical result. On a division, 53 members voted with Mr Rippon, and 180 against him. In May, Mr O'Connell gave notice of his intention to introduce his proposal to make the Upper House elective. Some laughed—laughed in loud shouts, and others were very grave, thinking the matter too serious, in the existing state of affairs, for laughter. One member, Mr G. Price, wished to move that the notice should be expunged from the notice book, but here Lord John Russell interposed in defence of the right of the Commons to entertain any proposition for what any member might consider a reform in any branch of the legislature, even if it should extend to regulating the succession of the throne, in which he was clearly supported by historical precedent. Mr Price withdrew his motion. The question, however, was not brought on, the events of the close of the session rendering any further humiliation of the obstructive peers unnecessary. Sir W. Molesworth, who knew more of the singular history than almost any one, quietly dropped the motion for peerage reform of which he had given notice for 1837. But the bishops were not yet to be left in peace. Mr Charles Lushington moved on the 16th of February, for the exclusion of the spiritual peers from the Upper House, and was ably supported by Mr Charles Buller, who's opinion was that the bishops had abundant employment elsewhere, that they were seldom prepared to enlighten legislation on subjects which lay peculiarly within their province, and that they were invariably found voting with the minister who gave them their seats. Lord John Russell opposed the motion with the question,

Where, if parliament once began to modify the constitution of the country, would they stop?—How far would they go?—a question which Mr. Buller declared to be easily answered. They would go only as far as the door of the House of Lords, to show the bishops out, and then leave them to go where they pleased. He, who had a great respect for the bishops, thought them most honourably seated in their own dioceses, where they had as much business to do as would quite engross them. On this occasion, 92 members voted with the reforming mover, and 197 against him. One more attack was made on the functions of the peers in May of the same session, when Mr. Duncombe proposed the abolition of the Lords' privilege of voting by proxy. The resolution was thus worded: 'That the practice of any deliberative assembly deciding by proxy upon the rejection or adoption of legislative enactments, is so incompatible with every principle of justice and reason, that its continuance is daily becoming a source of serious and well-founded complaint among all classes of his majesty's subjects.' It was shown that when the practice of voting by proxy began, in the time of Edward I., the proxies were men of lower rank, sent as messengers by the nobles who could not attend in person; and that it was not till the reign of Henry VIII. that the abuse crept in of allowing one peer to represent others. When, in the time of Charles I., the Duke of Buckingham held fourteen proxies, the evil was so evident as to cause an order to be passed that no peer should henceforth hold more than two proxies. In modern days, when legislation has become immediately interesting and important to the great mass of the people, the practice of proxy-voting has become more indefensible than ever; and yet the safeguard was withdrawn of the king's licence being a condition of a peer's absence. Lord Stanley and Sir R. Peel met the argument by likening proxy-voting to the custom of pairing in the Commons. The analogy was shown not to be a true one; and if it had been, the obvious reply would have been: 'Then abolish the custom of pairing, except on individual occasions.' The majority of 48 against the motion was formed by the official Whigs and their dependents, so that

the state of the question appeared by no means desperate. But again, events were occurring which deferred the controversy to a future time.

Such was the course of the mildest of the three 'revolutionary' movements of the period—that in which the sober and educated classes of the community reflected the far more serious agitation which was going forward on either hand.

It was not this period that men who went among the working-classes of the great towns first began to speak of Chartism, Chartists, and the charter. Some in higher ranks now and then asked what the words meant, but too many in every station—especially, too many in the ranks of government—did not look closely into it, but dismissed the matter as a thing low and disagreeable, and sure to come to nothing, from its extreme foolishness. It is the year 1838 before we find the word 'Chartism' in the *Annual Register*, yet, long before that, Chartism had become the chief object in life to a not inconsiderable portion of the English nation. And when it came to be a word in the index of the *Annual Register*, government and their friends regarded it as a 'topic of the day.' When the great national petition, bound with iron hoops, was carried, like a coffin, by four men from its waggon into the House of Commons, ministers and their friends looked upon the show as upon an incident of that vulgar excitement which poor Radicals like or need, as the tippler likes or needs his dram. Reckoning on the fickleness of the multitude, they pronounced that Chartism would soon be extinct, and then, that it was extinct. Their attorney-general, Sir John Campbell, in a sort of declaratory ministerial speech at a public breakfast at Edinburgh, declared Chartism to be 'extinct,' shortly before the Monmouth rebellion. The chief law-officer of the government gloried in the supremacy of loyalty, law, and order, immediately before the breaking out of a long planned rebellion, of which every possible warning had been given, in the form of preceding riots! The newspapers agreed with the government, and government took its information from the newspapers; and thus, from year to year, was Chartism declared to be extinct, while we, in the present day, have

the amplest evidence that it is as much alive as ever. And, as it is living so long after the announcement that it was dead, so was it living long before it was declared to be born. When government and London were at last obliged to take heed to it, they found that their tares were ready for harvest, and that long ago the enemy had been sowing them while they slept. While they slept, literally as well as metaphorically; for the gatherings and speechifying had been by torchlight on the northern moors and the Welsh hillsides. There were stirrings certainly as early as the date before us—the years 1835–36.

And what were these stirrings? What was it all about? The difficulty of understanding and telling the story is from its comprehending so vast a variety of things and persons. Those who have not looked into Chartism think that it means one thing—a revolution. Some who talk as if they assumed to understand it, explain that Chartism is of two kinds—physical-force Chartism, and moral-force Chartism—as if this were not merely an intimation of two ways of pursuing an object yet undescribed! Those who look deeper—who go out upon the moors by torchlight, who talk with a suffering brother under the hedge or beside the loom, who listen to the groups outside the union workhouse, or in the public-house among the Durham coal-pits, will long feel bewildered as to what Chartism is, and will conclude at last that it is another name for popular discontent—a comprehensive general term under which are included all protests against social suffering. And thus it was at the date before us, whether or not it be so now.

There were men among the working-classes, sound-headed and sound-hearted, wanting nothing but a wider social knowledge and experience to make them fit and safe guides of their order—some few of them not deficient even in these—who saw that the Reform Bill was, if not a failure in itself, a failure in regard to the popular expectation from it. If it was all that its framers meant it to be, they must give a supplement. A vast proportion of the people—the very part of the nation whose representation was most important to the welfare of the state—were not represented at all. As a sage expressed the matter for

them not long afterwards: 'A reformed parliament, one would think, should inquire into popular discontents *before* they get the length of pikes and torches! For what end at all are men, honourable members and reform members, sent to St. Stephen's with clamour and effort; kept talking and counter-motioning? The people in a country is the *truth* this you would say is a truism in all times; a truism rather pressing to get recognised as a truth now, and be acted upon, in these times. Yet read Hansard's debates, or the morning papers, if you have nothing to do! The old grand question, whether A is to be in office or B, with the innumerable subsidiary questions growing out of that questionary.

carts—all manner of questions and subjects, except simply this, the alpha and omega of all! Surely honourable members ought to speak of the *condition-of-England* question too—Radical members, above all; friends of the people; of articulate observer &c.

4 speak. They are either speakers for that great dumb toiling class which cannot speak, or they are nothing that one can well specify. Alas, the remote observer knows not the nature of parliaments; how parliaments, extant there for the British nation's sake, and that they are extant withal for their own sake; how parliaments travel so naturally in their deep-rutted routine, commonplace worn into ruts axle-deep, from which only strength, insight, and courageous generous exertion can lift any parliament or vehicle; how in parliament, reformed or unreformed, there may chance to be a strong man, an original, clear-sighted, great-hearted, patient and valiant

man, or to be none such.' The men we have spoken of—soon confounded in the group of Chartist leaders—felt and knew such things as Carlyle has here set down for them; felt that parliament had not done what was needed—that the people's story had not been told there—that the 'strong man' had not yet appeared there; and their conclusion was, that they might try and get the duty of parliament better done. They might possibly expect too much from the means they proposed—extension of the suffrage, shortening of parliaments, protected voting, and establishing a control over representatives, and opening a wider field of choice of such, by paying the expenses of their function; they might possibly expect too much from these aims; but it is a libel upon the best class of Chartist leaders to say that they expected from these aims all that they wanted. These men were the heartiest and truest advocates in the country of universal education. They saw more clearly than anybody else, and lamented more deeply, the miseries arising from popular ignorance. They mourned over the murders and vitriol-throwing of the operatives who were enslaved by mercenary delegates; they mourned over the fate of the followers of 'Messiah Thom;' they mourned over the nightly drillings on the heath, with pike and bludgeon; they mourned over the nature of the opposition to the new poor-law, when crowds of thousands of men, who could never be called together again to be disabused, were assured by orators whom they took for educated men, that under the new poor-law every poor man's fourth child was strangled, and that none but the rich were henceforth to have more than three children. They did more than mourn—they spent their hard earnings, their spare hours, their sleeping hours, their health, their repose, to promote the education which the state did not give. By wonderful efforts, they established schools, institutes, lecture and reading rooms, and circulated knowledge among their class in every way they could think of. Such were some of the body soon to be called Chartists—as soon as their political ideas had resolved themselves into the form of a charter which the people might demand. These men were all radical reformers. They saw little to choose between the Tories and the

Whigs As we again find their ideas expressed for them 'Why all this struggle for the name of a reform ministry? Let the Tories be ministry, if they will, let at least some living reality be ministry! A rearing horse that will only run backward he is not the horse one would choose to travel on, yet of all conceivable horses the worst is the dead horse Mounted on a rearing horse you may back him spur him check him, make a little way even backwards, but seated astride of your dead horse what chance is there for you in the chapter of possibilities These men wanted a strong, steady going progression, and they would have therefore neither the pomp and prancings of Toryism nor the incapacity of Whiggism They were radical reformers

Another set were Tories—Tory agitators who went about to raise the people against the new poor law and divert them from the aim of repealing the corn laws These men guilty or stupid according as they were or were not really the reverends and esquires that the mob believed them to be were the craters on the moon's ly torchlight These were the men who taught in those thronged meetings that the poor law was a system of wholesale murder and that no one could blame a poor man who carried a knife in his bosom for the workhouse official who should attempt to part him from his wife These were the men who represented the whole class of manufacturers as devils who caused children to be tortured in factories for their own amusement and too often the declamation ended with a hint that the hearers evidently knew how to get torches and that factories would burn These were the men who warned their hearers against a repeal of the corn laws because these laws were the last restraint on the power of the mill-owners These rabid and ranting Tories were another class of Chartists

There were thousands who knew little about themselves except that they were very hungry and miserable A landed proprietor now and then here and there said in the House pretty things about the sun of Christ's natal day gilding the humble thatch of the labourer at the same moment with the spire of the church and the windows of the mansion—intending to convey that the joyousness

of Christmas was shared by all ranks; while, the very next Christmas, in the very county, the very parish of these orators, the labourers were shivering without fire—cowering under a corner of the decaying thatch which let in snow and rain upon their straw litters—and hungering over the scantiest morsels of 'dry bread; one neighbour in four or eight, perhaps, having a slice of bacon, and a fire whereon to cook it. Such parishes as these furnished a contingent to the Chartist force—haggard wretches, ready to be called by any political name which might serve as a ticket to better cheer in life than they had found.

Largest of all was the number of those who ought not to have felt themselves under any immediate pressure of wrong at all. There were many thousands of factory operatives, of Welsh, Durham, and Cumberland colliers, and others, who were far from poor, if only they had been wise enough to see their condition as it was. But they were not wise enough; and that they were not, was *their* social wrong. Of these, great numbers had a larger annual income than very many clergymen, half-pay officers, educators, and fundholders, who are called gentlemen; but they did not know how to regard and manage their own case: they reckoned their income by the week instead of by the year, and spent it within the week; had nothing to reply when asked, in a time of prosperity, why they who worked so hard had not mansions and parks like people who did nothing; and, in a pinching time, when hungry and idle at once, with hungry children crying in their cold homes, were too ready to believe, as desired, that every other man's fire, and food, and cheerfulness were so much out of their pockets. By no act of the state could these men have been blessed with higher wages; but if the state would have educated them, they might have found themselves abundantly blessed in their present gains; they might have sat, in their school-days, on the same bench with the curate, and the seaman, and the schoolmaster, and the tradesman, whom they were now envying and hating; and might now have been content, like them, with the position which was 'neither poverty nor riches.' But the state had left them ignorant;

societies to the king. From the temper of the time in the House, and especially among the opposition, any captiousness must have been great indeed which could have struck everybody as remarkable. Member after member rose to cross-examine the ministers—who themselves could have hardly understood the proceeding—as to whether the addresses purported to be from Orange societies, whether the king could or ought to receive

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the parties as Orangemen,

whether Mr Goulburn as

an Orange lodge to be

legal or illegal, and whether he was prepared to justify the presentation of an address from such a society to the sovereign. The ministers were probably surprised and perplexed, beginning to see that this was a matter of high importance, but hardly understanding why or how, for no one of them rose for a considerable time. After the dead silence in which the question had been listened to, and the rising of the minister looked for, vociferous cheers from the opposition filled the House when he did not rise. At length Mr Goulburn made his answer. The reply to the addresses was intended as an acknowledgment of their receipt, and not as any recognition of the legality of the party name by which the signers might designate themselves. Cheering no less loud followed the reply. Perhaps no cheers given in that House—not even those which signalled the passage of the Reform Bill—ever carried such anxiety and pain to the hearts of certain of the Tory peers, and especially of the highest prince of the blood, the eldest of the king's brothers. He and the others of the peers could very well understand what a this might mean, while it was a singular mystery to the country at large.

The country at large knew little about Orangemen except that the Orangemen in Ireland were a rout of the loyalty, and made conspicuous processions on great festive occasions, and were ever at an open enemy's blows with the Catholics. Orangemen belonged to the

sively to Ireland, in the general mind. People generally would have stared to hear that Orangeism was in England, Scotland, and the colonies, and that it constituted an army of itself, in the midst of the military forces of the empire. Orangeism was exclusively Irish at first—in 1795, when it was first heard of. Before that time, the Protestants who patrolled the country, to prevent the seizure of arms by the Catholics in the night, in preparation for their insurrection, bore the name of ‘Peep-o-day Boys.’ The Catholics, who organised themselves against these patrolling bands, called themselves ‘Defenders,’ and soon extended the term to include the defence of ‘the united nations of France and Ireland.’ As soon as the aim of a union with France was avowed, and a descent of the French upon the coasts of Ireland was expected, the Protestants began to improve and extend their organisation, in the hope of preserving the union with England. They would have taken the title of ‘Defenders,’ but that their adversaries already bore it. They reverted to the period of the bringing in of a Protestant sovereign over the head of the Catholic James II., and called themselves Orangemen. Such, at least, is the traditionary account in the district where Orangeism sprang up. The Diamond—a little hamlet, about five miles from Armagh, where a conflict took place in 1795, which is called the battle of the Diamond—is assigned as the birthplace of Orangeism. A few yeomen and farmers joined for mutual defence and the assertion of British rights, after the battle of the Diamond; and this was the first Orange lodge. The gentry saw what this might grow to, and encouraged the formation of lodges, and the promulgation of rules. As Presbyterians abounded in that part of the country, they formed the main element of the societies; and it is said that the religious observances of the Orange lodges, which afterwards degenerated into a subject of scandal when Dissenters were no longer admitted, were introduced originally by them. The Orangemen of Ireland were the deadly foes of the ‘United Irishmen,’ and the most effective check upon them, and they have even claimed the credit of having preserved Ireland to England.

ness would be in a situation to contend for the exercise in your own person of that office at which the wild ambition of another may prompt him to aspire' Who this 'other' was is plainly expressed in two subsequent letters. It was Wellington!—the devoted Wellington, who perilled his reputation for consistency, and what his party call political honour, over and over again, rather than 'desert his sovereign' Wellington lived to have this said of him by a man claiming to be a colonel in his own 'perfect machine' of an army. In a letter from Fairman to Sir James Cockburn, in which he gives a most imposing account of the numbers and discipline of the Orango forces in Ireland and Great Britain, he speaks of grovelling worms who dare to vie with the omnipotence of Heaven, and of one among them he writes thus 'One, moreover, of whom it might ill become me to speak but in terms of reverence, has nevertheless been weak enough to ape the coarseness of a Cromwell, thus recalling the recollection to what would have been far better left in oblivion. His seizure of the diadem, with his planting it upon his brow, was a

This seems a subject
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with this matter too serious to be laughed at. At the first hint of treason, men were roused to indignation on behalf of the good natured King William of whom it had been in contemplation to dispose so easily, and much more strongly did their affections spring to guard from insult and injury the fatherless young princess whose rights were thus dealt with by that trusty and well beloved brother Fairman, whom the Duke of Cumberland sent forth as his representative. On this letter being published, people began to understand the strange proceedings, and the violence of the debate about a regency, after the accession of William IV. And on this letter being published, people began to remember how, from one occasion to another, rumours of the insanity of King William came floating abroad from the recesses of Toriiam, till exploded by contact with free air and daylight. The letter is dated April 6, 1830—during the last illness of

George IV.—and it is addressed to the editor of the *Morning Herald*:

‘DEAR SIR—From those who may be supposed to have opportunities of knowing “the secrets of the castle,” the king is stated to be by no manner in so alarming a state as many folks would have it imagined. His majesty is likewise said to dictate the bulletins of his own state of health. Some whisperings have also gone abroad, that in the event of the demise of the crown, a regency would probably be established, for reasons which occasioned the removal of the next in succession from the office of high-admiral. That a maritime government might not prove consonant to the views of a military chieftain of the most unbounded ambition, may admit of easy belief; and as the second heir-presumptive is not alone a female, but a minor, in addition to the argument which might be applied to the present, that in the ordinary course of nature it was not to be expected that his reign could be of long duration, in these disjointed times it is by no means unlikely a vicarious form of government may be attempted. The effort would be a bold one, but after the measures we have seen, what new violations should surprise us? Besides, the popular plea of economy and expedience might be urged as the pretext, while aggrandisement and usurpation might be the latent sole motive. It would only be necessary to make out a plausible case, which, from the facts on record, there could be no difficulty in doing, to the satisfaction of a pliable and obsequious set of ministers, as also to the success of such an experiment.—Most truly yours,
W. B. F.’

There is nothing to wonder at now in the pertinacity with which the opposition questioned the Peel ministry about Orange addresses. Mr. Hume had got hold of these letters of 1830–31, and the members who cheered so loudly on the perplexity of the ministers, were aware how the loyal Orangemen had listened to suggestions for making the Duke of Cumberland king, to prevent the usurpation of the crown by the Duke of Wellington—for expecting that William IV. would be superseded on an allegation of insanity, and the Princess Victoria because she was a

woman, and probably still a minor. If the Orangemen, with all their importance of rank, wealth and numbers—with their array of 140,000 men, avowedly sworn that they did not list Colonel

Fairman was a crack brained adventurer, with whose wild notions they had no concern, they would assuredly have done so. But it was impossible; the proof was too strong the other way. The letters cited above were written in 1830-31, and a long array of correspondence shows that the trusted and beloved William Blennerhassett Fairman lost no ground with the heads of the party by his speculations. Some of the most offensive suggestions were set forth in 'a series of essays,' written at the request of a noble lord, for that noble lord's information—that noble lord being Lord Kenyon, and these essays were handed over to the Duke of Cumberland, who kept them

interviews in February. On the 2nd of April, 1964, Colonel [redacted] with the more such ext April,

Colonel Fairman was unanimously elected to the most important office in the society—that of deputy grand-secretary; the present Duke of Buckingham being secretary. Colonel Fairman was nominated by the Duke of Cumberland, seconded by Lord Kenyon, and supported by the Duke of Gordon. In June, Colonel Fairman went forth on his mission among the lodges, furnished by the Duke of Cumberland with powers so extensive as to render it a serious and difficult matter to draw up his commission.

It is under this date that Lord Londonderry appears on

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about it. Considering the 'popish cabinet and demo-

cratical ministry,' with which the country was oppressed. Colonel Fairman thought fit to suggest in this letter: 'By a rapid augmentation of our physical force, we might be able to assume a boldness of attitude which should command the respect of our Jacobinical rulers. . . . If we prove not too strong for such a government as the present is, such a government will soon prove too strong for us: some arbitrary step would be taken in this case, for the suspension of our meetings. Hence the necessity for our laying aside that non-resistance, that passive obedience, which has hitherto been religiously enforced, to our own discomfiture.' He further relates how he was reproached by Lord Longford, in a long conversation, the day before, for the tameness of the British Orangemen, while the Irish were resolved to resist all attempts to put them down. In a short letter, a few days afterwards, he says he writes to supply an omission—he had forgotten to say that the Orango leaders had the military with them: 'We have the military with us, as far as they are at liberty to avow their principles and sentiments; but since the lamented death of the Duke of York, every impediment has been thrown in the way of their holding a lodge.' It will be remembered that the Duke of York withdrew from his intended position of grand-master on being assured of the illegality of the association. We have the answer of the Marquis of Londonderry to the above letters; the purport of which is that he had consulted Lord Kenyon, who hoped to convince the Duke of Cumberland that 'the moment had not arrived,' owing to the refractory state of the pitmen, and the Whig temper of the county; but, says the last sentence, 'I will lose no opportunity of embracing any opening that may arise.' Lord Londonderry admitted in the House of Lords all the facts of this correspondence, only explaining that the Duke of Cumberland's wishes were made known to him through Lord Kenyon, and not by interview or letter. In the same month of August in which his commission bears date, there is a letter of Fairman's to the Duke of Gordon, in which he mentions an invitation to Gordon Castle, in which he shall be assuming, I think, such an attitude as will strike the foe with awe; but

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Scotland expelled a body of Catholics 'who had before lived and worked with them in peace and harmony,' and, at the latest date, it was found holding out threats to the half pay of the army and navy, to draw them to itself in preference to other political unions. 'It is the bounden duty of such [pensioners and disbanded soldiers], in a crisis of danger like the present [February 1835], to enlist under the banners of a loyal association, instead of repairing to factious unions, no less hostile to sound policy than to true religion, at the imminent risk of incurring a
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 the national wil
 against the rights of all, from the king on the throne to the humblest voter, or soldier, or sailor, or Dissenter, or Catholic—which was discovered by the energy and diligence of Mr. Hume in 1835. Such as has been related was the information of which minds were full, on the opposition side of the House, when that scene of pertinacity was transacted which perplexed all who did not yet understand the case. The simple minded king had been received
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The seriousness of the question, and of the whole case, was relieved by . . . that the
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 tance, here and there, to admit the iniquity, but the opinion of the most eminent lawyers soon settled the matter. It might be fortunate, too, that the seriousness of the case was relieved by the touches of the comic which we have encountered—the Duke of Wellington, of all people, crowning himself with the diadem, and the *Doncaster loyalists*—the 'blue belles of Yorkshire' weeping, and their fathers and brothers weeping, over that hero of romance, the Duke of Cumberland, and the style, both of

letters and circulars, which must come in among the comic incidents of the case. The extreme silliness of the conspirators—a fair set-off, as it appears to us, against the ignorance of the Dorsetshire labourers—was another fortunate alleviation of the seriousness of the case; though it is no light matter to see so great a number of men—some powerful through rank and wealth—playing the fool, and compelled virtually to petition to be thought fools, as the only alternative from the reputation of traitors. With all its nonsense, and looked at from any pinnacle of superiority, this was a very serious matter. How was it to be dealt with?

The first thing done was obtaining a committee of inquiry in the Commons, within three weeks after the scene of pertinacious questioning with which the revelations began. Before the committee had reported, portions of the evidence were published in the newspapers; and several people, besides Mr. Hume, thought that no time was to be lost in exposing and annihilating the illegal practice of maintaining political societies in the army. Amidst many complaints of his proceeding before the committee had reported, Mr. Hume moved eleven resolutions, on the 4th of August, declaratory of the facts of Orangeism, of its illegality in the army, according to the general orders issued by the commander-in-chief, in 1822 and 1829; and ending with a proposal of an address to the king, calling his attention to the whole subject, and especially to the Duke of Cumberland's share in the illegal transactions complained of. Mr. Hume's opponents alleged that the military warrants must have been misapplied without the knowledge of the chief officers of the association, whose signatures were given to blank warrants, in order to their being sent out in parcels of a hundred or two, in the confidence that they would be properly employed; and also they declared that Orangeism in the army was a purely defensive measure, against Ribbon societies, and other secret associations, whose suppression they required, if Orange lodges were put down. To this there could be no objection in any quarter. The last of Mr. Hume's resolutions was objected to as conveying, inevitably, more or less censure on the Duke of Cumberland—a proceeding

the waste, the more thorough will be the renovation, and that perhaps the giddy and wrangling children may come back to their work with a better knowledge, and a more rational expectation.

When it appeared that Catholic emancipation had not tranquillised Ireland, the opponents of that emancipation were occupied with their triumph, and with their preparations to keep down the Catholics by all means, political and social, yet left in *their power*, but the advocates of the emancipation were driven to consider why it was that the measure appeared to have done so little. Presently might be seen a number of men, and of sets of men, each of whom had an idea about the true Irish woe and its remedy. There was much truth in almost every one of these ideas, and great wisdom and virtue in many of the men who acted upon them. But none of them had got to the bottom of the matter, and of the very few men in the kingdom who had insight into the real state of the case, there appears to have been no one who dared openly and emphatically to speak his thought.

Some thought that Ireland could never prosper while religious rancour prevailed as it did, and that all would be well if this rancour could be gradually discharged from the Irish mind. These advocated the extinction of tithe, the reduction of the Church, the impartial distribution of office among Catholics and Protestants, the discountenance of Orangism, and the establishment of the government plan of national education. There was weighty truth in all this, but when its advocates looked for the redemption of Ireland by these means, they were wrong.

Some thought that the fatal mischief was the distrust and dislike of the law among the Irish people, and they believed the true remedy to lie in winning over O'Connell from his pernicious teachings of illegality and chicane, and in appointing a viceroy and staff of officials, whose first care should be to administer with the strictest justice the ordinary powers of the law, who should reform the judiciary of all Ireland, and institute that practical education in simple legality in which the Irish people were conspicuously deficient. There was weighty truth in this;

but when its advocates looked to such a policy for the redemption of Ireland, they were wrong.

Some dwelt on the undisputed difference between the Irish and the English character; and especially on the constitutional tendency to illegality which they believed they recognised in the Celtic race; and urged that the true method of governing the Irish was not by the English method, but by an affectionate despotism. They pointed to O'Connell, as the virtual sovereign of Ireland, and asked what might not be hoped from sending over a popular viceroy, whose love of the Irish should make his relation to them that of a chieftain to his retainers; whose empire, in short, should be like that of O'Connell in kind while the safeguards of sincerity and honour should be added to the popular qualifications of the great demagogue. There might be much truth in this, valuable if urged antecedently to the annexation of Ireland, but of no practical avail towards her immediate redemption.

Some believed gross political corruption to be the chief curse, and proposed a registration of voters as a means for the discouragement of political profligacy. The men of this one idea pursued it with such energy as to show that they really did expect, from the restriction, and regulation, and ascertainment of the franchise, the redemption of Ireland.

Others believed that political principle and knowledge were to be obtained only through political training, and that the reform of municipal institutions was even more important for Ireland than for England and Scotland. They dwelt upon the great truths involved in the recommendation of municipal over central government; and quoted De Tocqueville, where he says, as if he were describing the Irish people: 'In certain countries of Europe the natives consider themselves as a kind of settlers—the greatest changes are effected without their concurrence, and without their knowledge; nay, more, the citizen is unconcerned as to the condition of his village, the police of his street, the repairs of the church, or of the parsonage; for he looks upon all these things as unconnected with himself, and as the property of a powerful stranger whom he calls the government. He has

be 'No surrender' Sir Harcourt Lees addressed a letter to the brethren, the last paragraph of which was adopted as the Tory text or watchword from that day forward—'Orangemen increase and multiply—he tranquil—he vigilant—Put your trust in God—still revere your king—and keep your powder dry' This letter was dated February 27, 1836 On the 7th of April following the Orange idol was rent to pieces in its shrine, the statue of William III was blown up on its pedestal in College Green, Dublin Here was a Catholic outrage—an act of Ribbon sedition at last 'But almost before this was said, men began to smell some of the 'dry powder' above referred to in the train which blew up the statue Government offered a large reward for the detection of the offender, and the Dublin corporation offered as much again The perpetrator was never discovered, but some incidents of the kind employed v

Meantime, the most persevered in bestowing office without regard to religious persuasion They selected the fittest men, and if they inquired whether they were Protestant or Catholic, it was for the purpose of holding the balance as evenly as they could The as jurors was broken the Protestants, hours of another faith as idolaters and rebels saw with amazement and horror that they were trusted to try the accused, to administer the laws, and transact the business of society, as freely as if they hated the pope and cursed the Jesuits

All this was very well, but a more effectual method of ultimately extinguishing religious rancour was supposed to be by the system of national education established in Ireland

In October 1831, the first announcement of this scheme

interest in the same ideas, and find by constant experience and sympathy how much they had in common. This object had been aimed at through the organisation of the Kildare Street schools; but the machinery was not of the right kind, though conscientiously worked. In 1828, a committee of the House of Commons had recommended the adoption of a system 'which should afford, if possible, a combined literary, and separate religious education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevail in Ireland, as to render it, in truth, a system of national education for the poorer classes of the community.' In order to meet the religious wants and wishes of all parties, certain days in each week are set apart for the religious instruction of the children by their respective clergy; and every encouragement was given to the communication of such instruction daily, before and after school-hours. The great difficulty was about the method of giving any religious sanction to the secular teaching in the schools. All desired some such sanction; but the Protestants contended for the whole Bible, spurning the idea of selections being made from it for school reading, as the rankest blasphemy, while the Catholics are not, as every one knows, allowed the free use of the Scriptures. Selections from the Bible were made, to the satisfaction of many clergy, both Protestant and Catholic; and these have been in use to this day. A brief remark dropped by the Archbishop of Dublin in the debate (February 28, 1837) on the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the Irish school-system, conveyed a significant hint and warning to those who heard him, and to many out of doors. that nothing could be more perilous than to circulate among the people exaggerated notions of the differences between the several versions of the records of their salvation. Yet, from the Bishop of Exeter in the Lords, down to the idlest clergyman without a flock in Ireland, the opposition to the Education Board and its acts, on the ground of the mutilation of the Scriptures, was virulent to a degree incredible in men who call themselves Christians. They could not, however, overthrow the board, or stop its good works. They could not even

Catholic Irish to legality and order in Lord Mulgrave's

— permanent redemption from

As it was, the remark-

— crime, during the whole

term of the wing administration in Ireland, is a sufficient testimony to the wisdom and humanity of the characterising principle of its rule

Sir R. Peel reminded parliament, in 1829, that 'for scarcely one year during the period that has elapsed since the union, has Ireland been governed by the ordinary course of law.' Insurrection Acts, Suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and martial law, were all familiarly associated in men's minds with the very name of Ireland, and all had been in vain—so vain, that parliament itself became uneasy and remorseful, and Lord Grey's government fell on the question of a Coercion Bill. Now, for a term of years, the experiment was tried of putting the ordinary law in force without fear or favour, and the result was, that at the close of the viceroy's term of government, twenty-seven out of thirty-two counties in Ireland were perfectly tranquil, or eminently tranquillised while the remaining five were not worse than they had always been before, that, while the decrease of crimes proceeded from year to year, the proportion of convictions to committals, and of committals to offences, was always on the increase—showing that at length the people were taking their part in the administration of justice, for the public good, that wherever the influence and example of the government could act freely crime had almost disappeared—as in the instance of the celebrated fiction fights, which were now seldom heard of, while the crimes which did continue were those which arose from agrarian discontents—from that great underlying grievance which every government has left untouched, and, finally that the decrease of crime, on comparison of the three years ending in 1838 with the three years ending in 1828 was no less than 10 per cent of murder and manslaughter, 40 per cent of shooting and stabbing 20 per cent of conspiracy to murder, 50 per cent of larceny, and 60 per cent of housebreaking for arms in the night.

The alarmed Protestants in parliament, however, com-

plained that Lord Mulgrave desecrated and annulled the law by his clemency. He had made a circuit through the south first, and then through the north of Ireland, and had visited the jails, and most establishments supported by the public funds. In visiting the jails, he had inquired of three parties concerning the prisoners whose pardon might be desirable—of the resident officers about their conduct in prison; of the medical officers about their health; and of neighbouring gentlemen about their previous character, and the probability of their good conduct henceforth. Where necessary, application was made to the judges for guidance. Of 800 petitions for pardon, about half had been entertained; of these, only 100 had been favourably answered, on certificates from medical men and others. These—whatever had been said to the contrary—were Protestants or Catholics, as might happen; while the rest, the only class to whom the prison-doors had been thrown open freely, were Orangemen convicted of joining illegal processions. The small proportion of recommitments among the offenders thus pardoned testified to the discretion of the mercy which had released them at the commencement of a new period in the government of Ireland; yet the political Protestants, perplexed and dismayed by the new doctrine and practice of equity before the law, persisted in calling the viceroy's journeys of inspection 'jail-delivery circuits,' and concluded that pardon was granted for the sake of the Catholics.

There was another doctrine, propounded by a member of the government at this time, which was offensive to the political 'Protestants,' as they called themselves, who opposed the acts of the Mulgrave administration. There is no survivor of that administration who will not eagerly assent to the avowal, that that one member, Mr. Drummond, was the mind and soul of it. Mr. Drummond, the military surveyor, the discoverer of the light known by his name, the private secretary of Lord Althorp, by the united wish of Lord Grey's cabinet, and the Irish under-secretary under Lords Mulgrave and Morpeth, was a man of great external calmness, of eminent ability in the ordinary affairs of life, and, till of late years, devoted altogether to scientific pursuits. His

authority, who had said that the agrarian disturbances themselves were ascribable to political agitation. From that time, the Irish landlords and political chiefs on the Tory side seem to have taken for granted that the government was a company of declared foes, who would keep watch on the management of their private affairs, and cast upon them the responsibility of all outrages perpetrated on Irish estates. On the 1st of January 1839, Lord Norbury was shot in his own shrubbery, in broad daylight, while pointing out to his steward some trees which he destined for removal. The cause of the deed was shrouded in mystery. Lord Norbury was on good terms with his Catholic neighbours and tenants, and he did not concern

was naturally asked
agrarian outrage

The very words fired the passions of the landlords—before jealous, and now panic stricken. At a meeting which they held, in the name of the magistrates of King's County at Tullamore, to consider the circumstances of this murder and of the country, they reverted to those few words of Mr Drummond's which their vehement wrath at once raised into a proverb. These words were found in a letter of Mr Drummond's, in reply to a request from the magistrates of Tipperary for an increase of military or police force. The under-secretary refused the assistance requested, and gave reasons which induced the receivers of the letter to keep it secret, lest the common people should hear about it, and be led to think ill of the landlords. The letter was asked for in parliament, however, and necessarily produced, and it actually became a parliamentary document before the magistrates of Tipperary had been generally permitted to see it. In this much canvassed letter occurred the words 'Property has its duties as well as its rights.' In their fear and grief at the murder of Lord Norbury, possibly through some discontent among his tenantry, though he was a kind landlord, the King's County magistrates reverted to Mr Drummond's proposition, as a subject on which to vent their passion, and it shows how wild and desperate must have been their wrath that they could fall out with a proposition so simply indisputable. It was declared that in

that letter, the Tipperary magistrates were 'bearded and insulted' by Mr. Drummond. A resolution was carried without a division, 'that it appears to this meeting that the answer conveyed to the magistrates of Tipperary from Mr. Under-secretary Drummond has had the unfortunate effect of increasing the animosities entertained against the owners of the soil by the occupants, who now constitute themselves the sole arbiters of the rights as well as the duties of property.' Lord Charleville ventured to declare, in moving this resolution, that the saying about property having duties as well as rights, though innocent enough in itself, was felt to be little less than a deliberate and unfeeling insult in the circumstances under which it was offered. When the plainest truths of morals are felt to be personal insults, all men see how the matter stands; and all men know that those plain truths are then made vital. And so it was in this case. The Tory landlords of Ireland have never forgotten that property has its duties as well as its rights. But the annunciation of this truth was fatal to all perception on their part of the impartiality of government rule.

One instance of the impartiality—of the want of respect of persons—exasperated the 'ascendency' leaders extremely. It was not only poor men—sub-constables and the like—who were dismissed from the government service for Orangeism, but great men also, with equal speed and certainty. Colonel Verner, who represented the Orangemen of the empire in the Commons, during the investigation of the Fairman plot, gave at an election dinner, as a party toast, 'the battle of the Diamond.' Mr. Drummond wrote to inquire whether it could be possible that Colonel Verner was thus a party to the commemoration of a lawless and disgraceful conflict. Colonel Verner's reply first supposed that he could not be expected to condescend to reply, and requested that any future question which the secretary might be desired to ask, should 'be expressed in terms better qualified to invite an answer;' and then refused to answer the inquiry at all. The chief-secretary, Lord Morpeth, now wrote himself, and assigning reasons at length for the step taken by the government signified to Colonel Verner his removal from the commis-

sion of the peace, and from the office of deputy lieutenant of the county of Tyrone Colonel Verner brought the matter before parliament, and thereby did an unintentional service to the government by publishing in the most effectual manner, the evidence of its principles and methods of rule. Among the ignorant and passionate and equalising rule of the
thout its being felt as pres-

throughout the country, were renovated and organised till they became as fine a body of police as exists in any country. Where the justices could not be relied on for repressing political demonstrations, stipendiary magistrates were planted, to direct the constabulary, and the quiet which followed surprised even the authors of it. Many causes of breach of the law were removed by the Tithe Act, and by new provisions and arrangements in relation to the collection of rents and the serving of the processes of the inferior local courts. Collisions between the people and rent-collectors and process servers were thus almost entirely obviated. But provision was at the same time made for the more certain and effectual punishment of all who still offended. Government undertook the prosecution of several classes of offences which before must be pursued by private parties, who might be accessible to fear or favour. Crown prosecutors appeared at the quarter sessions—one for each county—and obtained convictions for a great number of offences which would otherwise, though well

otherwise, though well
the disgrace of justice,

Witnesses were protee

the trials, and publicly recognised as citizens w.
doing their duty to society. By a steady use of these methods, more was done to enlighten the Irish as to the true function of law, and to convince them of its being a blessing to every man of them all, than could have been supposed possible in so short a term of years. But the underlying mischief was not removed nor touched, and those who looked to the admirable administration of law and justice by Lord Normanby's government for the redemption of Ireland were wrong.

3. The idea that an affectionate despotism—a government by apostles—is the only government that will suit the Irish people, unfit as they are thought to have shown themselves for a share in a representative system, seems almost too romantic and unpractical for an express mention in our age. But it happens, curiously enough, that we have evidence before our eyes that, suitable as a government by apostles may be to the Irish mind and temper, it could not avail for the redemption of the country. There has been no want of apostles or of idols in our own time; and little permanent good has accrued from the action of the very best. Lord Normanby and his coadjutors were truly apostles, on a mission of justice and mercy; yet after how short a course of years were they compelled to avow that their 'policy of conciliation was exhausted!' In the latter years of their term, too, they had the advantage of speaking in the name of the queen, who was perfectly idolised throughout the length and breadth of the land. We are assured by those who have explored the repository of Irish songs, and collected the political ballads which abound among the peasantry, that in O'Connell's most triumphant days, his simplest admirers did not dream of his title of king interfering with that of the queen. Her majesty, we are told, had a perfect host of volunteer poet-laureates; and the publishers of the popular literature declared that the most favourite old national ballads would not sell unless some lines in praise of Victoria were added. In the religious ballads, her majesty is even more prominent still. The prophecies of this beloved order of poetry, whose tone is prophetic throughout, all point to the restoration of the true Church, and of Irish prosperity in consequence. Always favourites of the Catholic peasantry, from Queen Elizabeth's days to Queen Victoria's, they circulate most diligently in times of discontent and approaching revolt; and they now, for the first time since the Revolution, expressed trust in a lawful ruler. In Elizabeth's days, the retriever was to be the King of Spain; then the O'Neill; then the Stuarts, regnant and exiled; then Dan. O'Connell; and, at the time under our notice, Queen Victoria. She is to build up the old Munster Cathedral, and the Catholic Church generally; and to

ominous; and it sounded somewhat like a bull when O'Connell, in 1829, at the time of the fiercest parliamentary opposition to the Normanby administration, called upon his 'two millions of Precursors' to rally in defence of the day. How far the mission to the tranquillisation of Kerry to pretend to point out.

As if to meet the objection that the failure of such a mission is ascribable to the vices of the apostle, another affectionate despotism, exercised by a blameless apostle, was now extending in Ireland. In 1829, Ireland spent £6,000,000 on proof-spirits; and there was not a town where men 'branded' - 'ing about the none; and no of the sot might not be seen, bare of comfort and teeming with disease. In the summer of that year, an American gentleman visited a friend at Belfast; and some must

of the United States had taken alarm at the spread of intemperance in their prosperous country, and were glad to embrace any method which might promise even a temporary check. The wisest of them were far from supposing that moral restraint can be effectually and permanently secured by any mechanical organisation; and there were many who seriously dreaded the consequences of imposing an artificial check which, if it gave way, would plunge the victim into the worse sin of perjury, and utterly degrade him in his own eyes. If the dispossessed devil should return, he would inevitably bring with him others worse than himself. And the testimony of physicians soon proved but too plainly that there were frequent violations of the pledge, and hopeless relapses into intemperance, now made doubly foul by having become secret and wrapped up in lies. Still, it was so

absolutely necessary that something should be done, that the wisest, with trembling tread, followed where the rash rushed in upon the sacred precincts of conscience, and lent a hand to work the machinery by which its free action was

dwelling was pure from the vice. Here was scope for the operations of an affectionate despotism. A sitting apostle came, and the experiment was tried.

From that summer of 1829, temperance societies had been formed here and there—the first being in New Ross, proposed and opened by the Rev George Carr, a clergyman of the Established Church. In course of time some inhabitants of Cork—a clergyman, a Quaker, a slater, and a tailor—eager to accomplish a similar object in their city, commended the enterprise to a man, popular above every one in the place, and liberal enough to be on good terms with men of all opinions—a Capuchin friar, and superior of the order by name Theobald Mathew. It was some years after the first movement that he gave his mind and heart to the work, and thereby became the great moral, as O Connell was the political, apostle of Ireland.

It must be allowed that something beyond the morality of the case might probably be in the minds of the followers of Father Mathew. Of the two millions whom he had in a few months pledged to temperance, there were no doubt many who supposed that some great crisis was at hand which required this act of self-denial from all true Irishmen—that they might be up and awake have their wits about them and be ready for action—whether Victoria should come to restore the Catholic Church, or the liberator to be king of Ireland or repeal should make every man's plot of ground fruitful in potatoes. It was a prevalent belief among the peasantry that Father Mathew could work miracles, and some even declared that he had raised a person from the dead. The terrific zeal with which the people rushed into a condition of temperance, shows an extraordinary strength of expectation, whatever the object of it might be, and there is no question of the fact, that the political leaders in Ireland considered it of importance to organise and train the water drinkers of Ireland into a force with its marching companies its

also how insecure and dangerous is government by affectionate despotism, which may always be liable to be appro-

priated by the most artful and unscrupulous agitator for his own purposes. After a year or two from the crowding of the country people into Limerick to take the pledge, in such multitudes as to break down iron railings, and cause deaths from trampling and pressure—within a year or two of the time when Father Mathew found it necessary to travel among his hundreds of thousands of disciples, because their thronging to him was dangerous to life and limb, it was noticed that the Irish character appeared to have sensibly changed. If, as has been said, the rebellion of 1798 was put down by force of whisky, and not of arms, it had now evidently become of first-rate importance that the hosts of sober, grave-faced men, who came marching to the temperance field, without fun and frolic, and with no noise but that of their practised bands of music, should not be driven or led into rebellion; for it was clear that whisky would not now put them down. It must be hoped that the evil disposed would find it less easy now than formerly to lead or drive them into rebellion, for assuredly rebellion would henceforth be a more formidable thing than it had hitherto been. Here were two millions of men, of a passionate nature—suddenly debarred from an accustomed outlet of passion and animal spirits, and by the same change, left with a large amount of time on their hands, and with heads cool for thought and device. If they had had more knowledge and a sufficiency of good leaders, this would have been the opportunity—the finest ever offered in the history of their country—for attaching them to the English connection, by showing to them the benefits of that connection under the Normanby government, and the far greater blessings which must accrue upon their being merely deserved. Now was the golden opportunity for beginning a sound political education if only the great political apostle had been worthy of the honour of his post. This could not have redeemed Ireland, directly or immediately, for the great underlying mischief was still untouched; but it might have somewhat softened the horrors of the impending doom of Ireland; and it would at least have mitigated the pain on every hand if that doom had overtaken a nation of thoughtful rational men, striving with courageous prudence and energy against

and well-prepared discussion. It was one of the most painful signs of the weakness of the successive Whig ministries, that they had recourse to the vulgar expedient of surprises, almost as often as they had any serious work to do. For the moment, it appeared to give them some advantage, by depriving the opposition of all opportunity for immediate concert, and by exciting afresh an emotion of hope and gratitude among the dissatisfied Liberal party throughout the country; but such emotions grow weaker and less responsive under a series of surprises; and the opposition learned by experience how to act in such cases. In the instance of the Reform Bill, when all the world knew that the men came into power for the purpose of doing a particular work, it was prudent and eminently beneficial to keep secret to the last moment the scope and details of the measure on which every man, in and out of parliament, was speculating. But the perpetual repetition of secrecy and surprising announcements took, after a time, the appearance of a trick; and especially when, as in the case before us, an essential and wholly unlooked-for change was arbitrarily connected with a bill which professed something quite different. The government bill, after treating of the registration of voters in Ireland, went on to propose a radical change in the franchise—its establishment on ‘a basis distinct and independent,’ and entirely new. The so-called Registration Bill was in fact an unannounced new Reform Bill for Ireland. The valuation under the poor law—of which we shall presently speak—was to be the entirely new basis; and an occupier of a tenement of the yearly value of £5, under a term of not less than fourteen years, was to enter upon the rights of suffrage hitherto enjoyed by persons having a beneficial interest to the amount of £10.

Those who most seriously desired the extension of the
 the most concerned at
 question so
 he ministers
 on of their
 measure. Lord Howick, and others who had acted with
 him in the preceding session, now, when they saw the
 matter really taken in hand, joined the government party

again; the debate was full and earnest, extending over four nights; yet the ministerial majority for the second reading was only five. Their opponents took for granted that they always knew that they could not carry their bill. There is no need to attribute to them such guilt as would be implied in sporting with the expectations of the disfranchised thousands in Ireland for party purposes; but they cannot be acquitted of the levity or miscalculation—to say the least of it—of bringing forward a measure of such tantalising promise, under circumstances eminently unfavourable to its success. Lord J. Russell's next course was not one which could command the respect of any party. After the division, he announced the desire of the government to lose no time with the bill, and that he should therefore bring it forward again the next Monday. When Monday came, however, he proposed to defer the discussion till after Easter, as he found many members impressed by the proposal of the new franchise, and he wished to obtain more full and accurate information before the matter was further discussed. It is not to be wondered at that this awkward explanation was received with 'shouts of laughter;' nor that the opposition taunted ministers with having never entertained any expectation of passing the all-important provision of their bill. They had had the recess in which to prepare for what they knew must be a critical struggle; and now, after the second stage of the business, and after many protestations of a desire to lose no time, they asked for a pause, in order to procure information enough to proceed upon in the discussion of their own measure. The postponement proposed was to the 23rd of April; and from Lord Stanley himself down to the lowest Irish newspapers in the repeal interest, there was one loud protestation of belief that the real aim of the ministers was to drive Lord Stanley's measure to the end of the session, and not to carry their own. Lord Stanley, meantime, gave early notice that he should contest to the last the proposal of a £5 qualification. The immediate consequence was, that, prior to all discussion, the ministers raised the qualification from £5 to £8.

When the House went into committee on the 26th of April, Lord Howick moved an amendment on the first

felt to be quite as wrong as their adversaries ever were in charging those adversaries with vulgar popularity hunting with hiding a fear of O Connell under a mask of political action, and with treating Ireland with a stupid and insulting good will, like that of a man who gives a clever child a watch that will not go—moreover, at the end of an explanation of the beauty and value of watches

Both parties desired, earnestly and perhaps equally, the sweeping away of the intolerable abuse of the existing corporations. They differed broadly and passionately, as to what the substitute should be, and they resembled one another but too much in the pertinacity with which they affixed discreditable imputations upon each other

The history of the five years' struggle to establish 'normal schools' of political education in seventy one towns of Ireland, where 900,000 inhabitants might begin their training in free citizenship, was briefly this —

In 1833, the Irish corporation commissioners began their work of inquiry. In 1836, the royal speech at the opening of the session expressed a hope that parliament would be able to apply a remedy to the abuses of the Irish corporations, 'founded upon the same principles' as the Municipal Reform Acts for England and Scotland. The Irish attorney general, Mr O'Loghlen, early introduced the ministerial bill, which was allowed to be read without opposition, a second time, on the 29th of February, as a sort of pledge that all parties were disposed to abolish the existing system, whatever they might do towards establishing a better. After this, Sir R Peel explained his views, which were in their main points, that, in the existing condition of Ireland, it was hopeless that free institutions would work, for want of the class specially needed to work them, that therefore the place of the old corporations, now to be abolished, should not be filled by new corporate bodies, which would only introduce new dissension and corruption, but that the sheriffs and recorders should be appointed by the crown, the local affairs of the inhabitants being managed by commissioners, chosen by popular election. He did not conceive it possible to deprive the body of existing freemen

of their rights, because they had long ago become proprietary and hereditary; and he believed, finally, that the only way to preserve any impartiality in the administration of provincial affairs in Ireland was to vest the principal appointments in the crown, as from the great preponderance of Catholics, the exclusion of Protestants now, under a system of popular election, would be as complete and unfair as the exclusion of Catholics had hitherto been, under a system of self-election in the corporations. This last reason was not one which increased the popular opinion of Sir R. Peel's wisdom; as it was clear that it begged the question of the impartiality of the crown, and it could proceed only upon the supposition that the Catholics would have the same confidence as Sir R. Peel himself in that impartiality. Lord F. Egerton moved, in accordance with the views of Sir R. Peel, the abolition of the old corporations, without the creation of any new; deerceing the government of towns by officers appointed by the crown. He would even have the commissioners for the administration of borough property provided in the same manner. This motion was thrown out by a large majority. But its theory met with better success in the Lords. There, the bill was 'amended' by cutting out of it all the clauses relating to the constitution of new corporate bodies. Out of 140 clauses, 106 had been in substance omitted, while 18 had been added; and, while the 'amended bill' abolished corporate institutions entirely, it actually preserved to many of the officials who profited by the old system the power and emolument of their situations. Of course, this was not to be endured. The Commons rejected the amendments, and sent back the bill to the Lords in nearly its original state. Lord Melbourne was outvoted by a majority of 97 in an attempt to get the bill reconsidered. It was sent down to the Commons, with a statement of their Lordships' reasons for adhering to their amendments. On the 30th of June, Lord John Russell moved that the amendments should be considered that day three months: the House agreed; and thus the bill was lost for that session.

In introducing the bill again in the next February, Lord J. Russell was understood to intimate that the Melbourne

declared that, seeing its necessity, he should not oppose it, but he assailed every important part of the measure, separately, while he declared himself a supporter of the whole. His pleas were curiously contradictory. The Irish would never enter workhouses, yet these houses would maintain men in idleness who ought to be at work upon the land. The land could not maintain the poor—the production being only one-fourth that of England and one half what, considering the inferiority of the soil, it ought to be, yet, this bill would make the people the slaves of the landlords. The natural poor-law—of sympathy—was the best, and Ireland's charity hitherto the glory of Ireland, would be extinguished by the imposition of a legal charity, yet, he would support asylums, and no other charitable institutions willingly, because asylums for the infirm and sick could not encourage fraud and mendicancy. He declared that a poor law would only swell the numbers—then amounting to nearly two millions and a half—of persons absolutely destitute for a large portion of every year, yet he ridiculed the notion of union houses, because they would hold only 80,000, and claimed equal assistance for the two millions and a half. While protesting his belief that the measure would aggravate pauperism, and suddenly extinguish private charity, he protested against the gradual introduction and extension of the institution and claimed immediate and full rescue by means of it for the starving millions of his countrymen. Thus shifting were his views while he declared himself a supporter of the government, and voted for the bill. He deserved by his previous conduct, the imputation, that he was taking what could be got from England, while industriously providing for the failure of the measure by disgusting his countrymen with it beforehand, but the impression derived by an impartial reader from his speeches in parliament is, that he really was perplexed by the difficulties of the case. His intellect had, in fact, by this time, become so injured by his habits of partiality and exaggeration, and tampering with truth for private purposes, that it had really become awkward and difficult to him to entertain any question so serious in his own

view as to compel him to balance the evidence of its respective sides. With all his astuteness in the conduct of intrigues, and the management of the Irish mind, he had become incapable of apprehending distinctions which were all-important in the consideration of measures founded on any principle; as, for instance, in his declaration of the next session, that the 'strange distinction' between 'poverty' and 'destitution' was not practical—was too nice for Ireland—and so forth; whereas this distinction—the ground-work of the whole poor-law reform in England, and institution in Ireland—is as broad and palpable as the distinction between a householder and a vagrant. In that next session, of 1838, Mr. O'Connell took his stand decidedly—he said finally—against the measure. He declared that he had before wanted moral courage to oppose it; but now he had grown older and somewhat firmer. The fact probably was, that the first agonising impression of the misery of Ireland had worn off, and his natural prepossessions, as an adventurer, as a man of reckless passions, and as a Catholic, impressed with the blessedness and holiness of spontaneous almsgiving, now recovered their sway, and led him to oppose the introduction of an institution which was too regular and exact, too legal and impartial, too repressive of wrong, and favourable to homely good, to be otherwise than distasteful and alarming to him. In the final period of legislation, therefore, O'Connell went against the bill, with all his forces; and among those forces he enlisted every truth of political economy which he could apply against a compulsory charity in general, and such treatment of the misery of Ireland in particular. His last appearance on this question in parliament was in the character of a rigid political economist.

The case was indeed perplexing enough to sounder thinkers than O'Connell; and his conduct may be regarded as a mere exaggeration of the thought of the time on this question. The very officials themselves were divided as to whether Ireland should have a poor-law or not. Some of the commissioners were in favour of it, and others against it: their third report was against it—the secretary for it. The greater number of political economists in

destitute cases. When the 'starving seasons' came round—the interval between the complete consumption of one potato crop and the harvest of another—it was evident that more work had been done, and more providence exercised. The early operation of the Irish poor law was pronounced to be decidedly successful. But it was too soon yet for the warmest advocates of the measure to pledge themselves that it would work the redemption of Ireland.

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occasion—in the spring of 1839 when he became colonial secretary for a few weeks and then went to the home department. His policy was continued by his coadjutors and by Lord Ebrington (soon after Earl Fortescue) who succeeded him in the viceroyalty. His retreat from Ireland did not pacify the opposition. In the session of 1839, the attacks on his government were renewed in both Houses of parliament. In the Commons Lord Russell met them by moving a resolution on the 15th of April that it was expedient to adhere to the principle of government which had been of great recent benefit to Ireland. Sir R. Peel moved antagonist resolutions that it was inexpedient so to pronounce while the Lords' committee of inquiry was still engaged upon its work. These last resolutions were voted down by a majority of 22. In the Upper House, Lord Brougham moved on the 6th of August, and triumphantly carried, a set of resolutions condemnatory of the Normanby policy—particularly as regarded the administration of justice and the extension of mercy. The ministers were left in a minority of 34 in a House of 138.

The opinion of the country, however, sustained the Irish administration, at least in its general principles. The prevalent impression, throughout the nation, was, at the time that the country had never before been so well governed, and there were many who believed that the redemption of Ireland had at length been entered upon. If this has been disproved by the lights of painful experience—if it now appears that the deep underlying

mischief was unrecognised as a fatal obstruction—the Whig administration of Ireland may nevertheless have been an inestimable boon.—It is the way with human affairs that enterprises often fail of their express aims, but never of producing important collateral effects. The Normanby administration did not redeem Ireland; but it proved before the eyes of all men a truth which must be understood before Ireland can be redeemed. It proved that no political government—the justest, the wisest, the most considerate—can rectify evils which are social, and not primarily political. The friendly rulers of Ireland, between the years 1835 and 1840, were not to have the privilege of redeeming her; but they did much to prepare the way; and they removed a great obstruction in extinguishing all just complaint of English misgovernment. Many other obstructions remained which rendered the work of effectual renovation impossible till a higher power than lies in human hands had cleared the way in a manner which it makes the stoutest heart tremble merely to contemplate. It is because this has happened—because the wide sweep of misery has left it clear that the maladies of Ireland are social, and not political—because the great underlying mischief has been heaved up to the surface by the convulsion—because everyone now sees what must be done before Ireland can be redeemed—that we may speak of the hopefulness and cheerful composure with which the spirit of history may review the scenes and struggles of the past. The work now lies open; and the national gaze is beginning to contemplate it. A great work never waits long for the workman; and a greater work than this never presented itself to the human heart and hand. In an advanced age of the world—in the day of high civilisation—here is a nation, full of noble qualities, however corrupted, to be taught how to live—taught from the beginning; led up from a condition of passionate and suffering immaturity into the strength of self-disciplined, industrious, healthful, and prosperous manhood. If it be true that a great work never waits long for the workman, the day of the redemption of Ireland cannot be far off. When it comes, the nation will not altogether forget ‘the things that are behind,’ in ‘pressing forwards to those that are before.’ It will not

government on the constitution of the commission. No answer was returned, and on the 13th of August 90 out of 93 members of the Assembly met for the purpose renewed the remonstrance. When questioned in the House of Lords, Lord Melbourne answered, with his wonted speculative optimism, that a commission which pleased nobody must be a very good one, in times when party spirit ran high, and that it was a fine thing for men of extreme opinions, like one of the commissioners, who had written a book against Establishments, to be put upon such work as this, as he was pretty sure of growing wiser, and learning to take more moderate views, and then, the vigorous talents which such men ordinarily possess would come into action for the public service. The deepest offence to the Church was—after the proposal to inquire at all—the direction to the commissioners to inquire into the amount of ‘unexhausted treads,’ that is, of tithes possessed by landowners, over and above the amount actually expended in their respective neighbourhoods for the support of the Church. In 1707, it had been settled, after much controversy, that the officials who administered church affairs might enlarge stipends, but not erect or endow any new parish without the consent of three fourths, in value, of the landowners. This arrangement was seen at the time to be so far questionable as to cause a provision to be made that parliament might alter it at pleasure. It was now reasonable to inquire into the working of the law. — — — — — there really was a deficiency of the country. But a cry — — — — — private property was made, a cry so loud as to induce Lord J Russell to publish, in a letter to the head commissioner, Lord Minto, a disclaimer, in the form of an instruction, not to give

law, the holders foresaw the proposal to repeal the act of 1707, and exclaimed against the devouring rapacity of the Church. The Dissenters protested loudly against any further endowments from the state, under any pretence whatever, and denied, in this case, any pretence of

necessity at all: the Churchmen were offended that parliament had not made them a grant at once, without dispute; and they protested against all inquiry into the workings of their church organisation, and the amount of their funds. There was yet another cause of offence. The class of tithes called bishops' teinds must be dealt with separately. They were appropriated by the crown at the Reformation—bestowed on the bishops while Episcopacy existed in Scotland—and resumed by the crown on its abolition. When stipends fell short, from the parochial teinds being exhausted, the deficiency was made up from the bishops' teinds; but in no other way had the Church of Scotland any claim upon that fund. It had now become the property of parliament, together with the other patrimonial property of the crown surrendered by William IV.; and the general public, as well as the Scotch Dissenters, protested against any appropriation of this national fund to purposes of church extension in Scotland—even before it was ascertained whether such extension was needed. Thus, the commission was as unpopular on every hand as any commission could well be.

In his official letter, Lord John Russell expressed a hope that the greater part of the business would be completed within six months—that is, in readiness for the session of 1836; but this was not possible. In 1837 and 1838, three reports were before the government—on the religious instruction provided for Edinburgh, and for Glasgow, and on teinds. They relate that Dissenters were more numerous than Church members in Edinburgh and Glasgow—and especially the most earnest and steadfast class, the communicants; that the less opulent Dissenters had provided much larger accommodation than the more opulent Establishment; that the church accommodation in Edinburgh exceeded the legal standard; that it fell short of that standard in Glasgow, but still went far beyond the existing need, as there were, as in Edinburgh, 20,000 unlet seats—for the most part of the cheapest order. As for the teinds, some of the unexhausted ones were held by land-owners who were Dissenters; and it must require great consideration before these could be taken from the holders for purposes of church extension. As for the

amount, it fell but little below the sum of the actual stipends, and it was evidently a very serious matter to think of nearly doubling the revenues of the Church by taking funds out of the hands of private holders, some being Dissenters, to whom they had descended as property guaranteed by law for more than a century.

When the excitement caused by this inquiry was at the height, the elections of 1837 occurred. The Church party, animated by the clergy, strained every nerve to drive out the ministerial candidates, in hope of giving a finishing blow to the weak and unpopular Whig government and bringing in men who would give them church extension and a triumph over the Dissenters. The Dissenters strove as earnestly on the other side, not from any call of trust and gratitude for what the Whig government had done, but in the hope that their timely aid now, in conjunction with the information of the report—so strongly in their favour—would procure serious attention to their case. But for the Dissenters the Whig candidates would have been excluded from all the principal places in Scotland. It was hoped now that the prodigious excitement manifested during the elections would give the ministers some hint of the importance of the next move they might make. The evidence was before their eyes that the Scotch Church was a failure in its character of a missionary church and therefore not entitled on that ground to aid from the community generally, or at the expense of the Dissenters who were doing her missionary work without aid from any quarter. The worst district in Edinburgh had, at that date, six times as many ministers as the average of Scotch towns, and yet, out of a population of 25 000, only 1070 church seats were let to the inhabitants of the district. The report of the city mission also disclosed appalling facts of the vice and wretchedness of whole districts where the Church was a mere name, and the whole work was left to the zeal and charity of volunteers. Yet in the face of these facts—in full view of the extraordinary excitement which pervaded all Scotland—the vast public meetings the gatherings of synods and societies for the protection of religious liberty—in the full hearing of warnings from all England and from

Ireland of the serious consequences of a government pledging itself to church extension at a period when the final struggle of our Established Churches for existence had manifestly begun—in the midst of circumstances as serious as these, Lord J. Russell confirmed the agitating rumour which had been abroad since the elections, that the government was going to pledge itself to church extension in Scotland. Subsequent events proved—what, indeed, few ever doubted—that the ministers did not know what they were doing. The universal excitement on ecclesiastical subjects was inexplicable to them. Their training and position did not enable them to enter into the importance of the question of Church Establishments to the great middle class in both England and Scotland, who understand the principle of it perhaps better than any other which ever comes before the government. The ministers did not see that a second Reformation might be the consequence of even a single ministerial act at such a juncture; and so they went intrepidly on, plunging into a matter which they did not understand—to the amazement of men on both sides in the quarrel. Such inability of statesmen to enter fully into religious questions, while not surprising, is a strong argument on the side of the opponents of the union of Church and State; and it was so used, at this date, by the Tractarians on the one hand and the Dissenters on the other; and there was nothing in the condition of any of the three Establishments to shamo the plea. In the English Church, the prelates, the clergy generally, and the popular body in the Church, were parting asunder, with mutual reproaches of tendency to schism and unseemly disturbance. The dreadful position and reputation of the Protestant Church in Ireland was a subject so familiar as to have become wearisome; and now, the Scotch Church had challenged her adversaries to a conflict which was to end in her hopeless humiliation. Yet the ministers remained unconscious of the gravity of the occasion. Lord Melbourne and Lord J. Russell said irreconcilable things on the same night in the two Houses; and when they had compared notes, and come to an agreement what to state, it was that they proposed to extend the endowments of the Scotch Church. For this

On the 6th of June, it appeared that the candidates were six; and this, as was immediately notified to Lord J. Russell, called for an interval of six Sundays before the choice was made. But on the 16th, the appointment of one of the candidates was gazetted; and it had been previously known in Glasgow. The remark of the reforming journal which relates the fact is: 'Lord John, the peculiar position of Scotchmen ex, approaching when send the church ques-; instructed as to the

tions of Scotland, were ...
feelings of Scotchmen towards it.

CHAPTER VIII.

... Theology—Committee of Inquiry—Result—Finance—
Deaths
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... questions whose history has been detailed left
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... at its
close to be ingloriously ... amount
of business transacted, and during the next two, the topics
which are usually brought forward every year, in the
expectation that they will be amply debated, were either
omitted, or dismissed with brief notice. The subject of
agricultural distress is rarely absent from the records of
any session, and we find it here, as usual. In May 1835,
the Marquis of Chandos moved for a repeal of the taxes
which bore upon the agricultural interest. Every one
admitted the distress—the low or fluctuating prices of
produce—the uncertainty of the farmer's gains while his
expenses were fixed, and, under some heads, increased;

but the majority of the House agreed with those who doubted whether the bill would be passed. It was by reducing direct taxation, and it was certain, he thought it would be passed. It was probably be disappointed. The bill was voted down by a large majority. At the next session, the committee continued or permanent. It was proper subject of investigation. It was from being supposed to be a subject of investigation. It was agriculturists from anything that would be proposed through such a committee. The parliament was relieved from the burden of the usually introduced as the basis of the currency, local burdens, and the standard. Cayley had rest from the bill of 1819 which was the standard, or conjoined standard of the House would not agree to this the year before, and the committee would present its report again. The Marquis of Charles would be moved his annual speech on the burdens in land, and the enemies of the corn-laws could not do better than trust the cause of free-trade to the evidence brought before the committee. The continued pressure of agricultural distress was a stronger argument in favour of a repeal of the corn-laws than any which could be uttered by the voice of any man; and it was certain to be corroborated by all the evidence which the committee could call for. The result was remarkable. The committee 'ended in nothing,' as the disappointed said; that is, it presented the evidence, without any report whatever. A report had been prepared, and it was discussed at a meeting of twenty-five of the committee, eighteen of whom called themselves emphatically the farmers' friends. These objected altogether to the report, as certain to in the suffering party, and insisted upon the free-traders. The reasons for their

disappoint the expectations of the landed interest were looked for in the evidence, and easily found. The labourer was one part, and the largest, of the agricultural interest; and he was found to be in a state no worse than formerly, but considerably better than of late years. The other two classes, less numerous, united, than that of the labourer, were shown to be victims, not of the pressure of local burdens, but of fluctuations in the price of produce, which kept the farmer in perpetual uncertainty about his profits, and the landowner about his rents. The report would have stated these results; but its suppression, and the publication of the evidence on which it was founded, answered every purpose equally well. Familiar and wearisome as the subject is, it becomes more, instead of less, necessary to record complaints of agricultural distress as every year brings us nearer to the great settlement of commerce, that it may be occasioned and justified.

ing to the system, but could hardly lose the reduction of taxation was not on behalf government was reducing without needing the intervention of parliamentary committee or other stimulus or assistance. In 1835, there house—occasioned other unexpected charges but the aspect of affairs was favourable enough to justify the reduction or repeal of a few small taxes, namely, the duty on flint-glass, now reduced from 6d to 2d per lb., the reduction of the duty on spirit-licences, within a certain limit, and the repeal of the duty on awards in Ireland, whereby inducement might be offered to the poorer classes to settle their disputes in a cheaper manner than by going to law. It was found necessary to make an alteration in the tax-duty, as well as in that on spirit-licences. Lord Althorp's methods

rarely worked well; and in this case it was found necessary very soon to alter the tax on tea. Before the China trade was thrown open, there was a scale of *ad valorem* tea-duties, charged according to the prices given at the sales at the India House. When teas might be sold in any shop, government fixed three rates of duty, corresponding with the qualities of teas, in the hope of thus subjecting the purchasers of low-priced teas to a low duty. Besides the temptation to fraud, and the infinite trouble sure to be caused by this arrangement, it was soon found that the qualities of teas are not often distinct and distinguishable enough to afford an unquestionable basis for separate taxation. Teas of different value paid the same duty, and teas of the same value paid a different duty; the custom-house officers had in their hands, not only an irksome task, but a greater power of oppression than any tax could justify. The House agreed to the proposal of government; and it was resolved that, from the 31st of July 1836, the discriminatory duty should cease, and be succeeded by one of 2s. 1d. on all teas for home consumption.

In 1835, an effort was made by Mr. Bulwer to obtain a repeal of the stamp-duty on newspapers. The chancellor of the exchequer did not defend the tax, which he admitted to be bad in principle and policy; but he must satisfy himself with pledging his testimony against the tax, and wait for a further surplus before he could undertake to repeal it. This was received as a promise to repeal the duty the next year. Between two-thirds and three-fourths of the duty was in fact remitted the next year. The 4d. stamp with discount was exchanged for 1d. stamp without discount. The reason why the remission was not complete was that a postage rate must in that case have been imposed; and it was thought more convenient to all parties to retain a small stamp-duty. This was a remission of taxation truly honourable to government, and beneficial to the people. A vast quantity of trash was immediately driven out of the market, and its place supplied by good newspapers. The lowest order of readers will always prefer what is superior to what is inferior, in political and social literature, as in everything else, if both are made equally attainable; and it presently appeared that unstamped

The improvement in the marriage law connected with this measure has been specified before. Sir R. Peel introduced the sound principle of rendering marriage a civil contract, only so far obligatory by law, because the civil contract is all that the state has to do with; and the religious celebration is a matter of private conscience altogether. From the time of the passage of this act, the business lay, as far as the state was concerned, between the registrar and the parties intending to marry. The marriage might take place at the office of the superintendent-registrar, or at any church or chapel registered for the purpose, without publication of banns, and in virtue of the registrar's certificate that the provisions of the law had been complied with—the registrar being present, and the certificate being delivered to the officiating clergyman, or the registering officer in any dissenting chapel or synagogue. If the parties are married at the superintendent-registrar's office, that officer must be present, and another registrar and two witnesses; the hours and open doors must be the same as in other cases, and also the declarations as to the absence of legal impediment. In the place of the former publication of banns, there was now to be a sufficient previous residence and length of notice—the publication of banns being henceforth confined to the case of members of the Establishment. By this act, the Dissenters obtained a relief which it will hereafter be astonishing that they could have waited for so long; and the state began to practise the virtuous prudence of making marriage as accessible as it at present knew how, and consonant to the principles and feelings of the conscientious of every way of thinking.

This marriage business occupied one of the two bills brought forward by Lord John Russell on the 12th of February. The other provided for the registration of births and deaths. The guardians of the poor were to divide the parishes into districts which should be supplied with a sufficiency of registrars. The occupiers of houses were encouraged to give notice, within a certain time, of every birth and death that happened therein, with such particulars as the officers were authorised to ask. A fee on registration must be paid, after the lapse of the shortest

it out of sight as long as possible—it would be a serious disadvantage to Englishwomen to be judged of, as they inevitably would be, by such a sample as would have attended the debates on such an invitation as that of Mr Grantley Berkeley and Mr Villiers. As it was, the women of England gained something—in the way of warning how far they were from being respected by those who professed most regard for their political improvement, and the House of Commons lost much in the way of character for sense and refinement. It had often exposed itself by the boyish passion and pot house manners which had occasioned confusion within its walls, but it now outbid all former disgraces, and excited a disgust which was not likely to be forgotten. The simple minded now knew something of the way in which some gentry talk when they get together—like to like. The simple-minded were shocked, but they were glad to know the truth, and resolved to bear it in mind.

Every one admits, as a general declaration, that no subject can be more important, in the deliberations of parliament than the defence of its own privileges, yet the whole nation dislikes the subject, and is too apt to despise it. A troublesome and protracted and very serious conflict about the privileges of the Commons began in 1837. On the 6th of February, a petition was presented from Messrs Hansard, the printers to the House, who stated that in course of the ordinary authorised sale of parliamentary reports and papers to the public, a prison report had been sold, in which was contained a statement given in evidence, that certain prisoners were found reading obscene works, issued by a certain publisher, whose name was given—J J Stockdale, that Stockdale had brought an action for libel against Messrs Hansard in the Court of King's Bench, laying his damages at £20,000, that Messrs Hansard had pleaded in justification the sanction and authority of the House of Commons, that the Court of King's Bench had ordered the plea to be struck off the record, and that Messrs Hansard prayed the protection of the House.

The privilege of parliament was not involved in the act of disallowing the Hansards' plea, the disallowance

being merely on the ground that the plea was unnecessary for technical reasons; and, on this opening occasion, no one dreamed that the privilege of parliament was in question at all. It was on occasion of the trial, the next day, that the controversy was raised. It was raised by Chief-justice Denman, who said that he was not aware that the authority of the House of Commons could justify the publication of a libel. In his charge to the jury, he repeated his opinion with strong emphasis; and the jury accordingly found, that though the book referred to was obscene and disgusting, the defendants were guilty of libel on the publisher. Within a week the House took up the matter, and appointed a committee to investigate the question of privilege. On the 30th of May, Lord Howick moved resolutions framed on the report of the committee, affirming that the House had full power to publish what it chose; that to bring the privileges of parliament into discussion before any tribunal but parliament itself, is a high breach of privilege; and that for any court or tribunal to assume to decide on the privileges of parliament, otherwise than as carrying out the decisions of either House thereon, is contrary to the law of parliament, and a breach and contempt of its privileges. Sir R. Peel supported these resolutions, against a set, of a contrary purport, proposed by Sir R. Inglis; and those supported by the two parliamentary leaders were carried by a majority of 90 in a House of 162.

Here was the Court of King's Bench placed in direct and irreconcilable opposition to the House of Commons; Lord Chief-justice Denman to the assembled representatives of the nation. It was no trifle, such a quarrel as this; and its issue was awaited with great anxiety by all who understood its bearings.

There is nothing more to be said of the action of parliament during the reign. The Whig ministers were not men of business. They conveyed the impression of doubt about the quality and practicability of their own measures; and this was, in fact, inviting the obstruction or demolition of those measures. Every session became, to the sensations of those concerned in it, more and more like a troubled dream, wherein the sufferer is for ever struggling to get on, and for ever in vain. By this time, the min

possible, for his new kingdom, which had presently cause to mourn his arrival much more than England did his departure. There was no word of regret, even in newspapers, for the loss of a collateral kingdom which had formed a part of the British Empire for a century and a quarter, and if this arose in part from the indifference of the nation to the possession of profitless foreign territory, it must be ascribed in part also to the general satisfaction at the departure of the Duke of Cumberland, and at the sceptre having passed down to a new generation, from which more might be hoped than could ever have been derived from that which had given the nation much to bear in many ways since the opening of the century.

On the meeting of the princes, peers, and other councillors, they signed the oath of allegiance, and the first name on the list was that of 'Ernest,' King of Hanover. The queen caused them all to be sworn in members of her council, and then addressed them, after which they issued orders for the proclamation of her majesty. If the millions who longed to know how the young sovereign looked and felt could have heard her first address, it would have gone far to satisfy them. The address was, of course, prepared for her, but the manner and voice were her own, and they told much. Her manner was composed, modest, and dignified, her voice firm and sweet, her reading as usual, beautiful. She took the necessary oaths, and received the eager homage of the thronging nobility, without agitation or any kind of awkwardness. Her declaration contained an affectionate reference to the deceased king, an assertion of her attachment to the constitution of the country, and of her intention to rule in accordance with it, a grateful allusion to her mother's educational care of her, an avowal that under circumstances of such eminent responsibility as hers, she relied for support and guidance on Divine Providence, and a pledge that her life should be devoted to the happiness of her people. The ministers returned into her hands, and received again, the seals of their respective offices, the stamps in official use were ordered to be altered, and also the prayers of the Church which related to the royal family, the proclamation was prepared, and signed by

the privy-councillors; and the queen appointed the next day, Wednesday, for the ceremony. The first use of the great seal under the new reign was to authenticate the official proclamation, which was gazetted the same evening. During the whole morning, carriages were driving up rapidly, bringing visitors eager to offer their homage. What a day of whirl and fatigue for one in a position so lonely, at such tender years! How welcome must have been the night, and the quiet of her pillow, whatever might be the thoughts that rested upon it! The next morning, she appeared 'extremely pale and fatigued;' and no wonder; for she had passed through a day which could never be paralleled.

While the eagerness of homage and duty was thus suddenly gathering about the Kensington Palace, all was very still at Windsor. While the niece was receiving needful and most cordial assurances and offers of duty and support, the uncle was past all such needs. He had received all kind and dutiful offices with gratitude to the last; and now no one could do anything more for him, or receive his thanks. An attached wife, and daughters who were long in recovering from the grief of his loss, were at hand; and everything else was very still. Perhaps there might be, amidst the grief, a calmer sleep in the twilight of sovereignty here than in the bright dawn of it which was kindling in the other palace. And how different was the review of the life which had gone out from the anticipation of that which was just setting forth on a new career!

William Henry, the third son of George III., was born in August, 1765, and was therefore in his seventy-second year at the time of his death. He was destined for the sea, and became a midshipman at the age of fourteen. It is amusing to read, at this distance of time, of the distresses of the Admiralty at the insubordination to rules shown by Prince William, when he had risen high enough in the service to have a ship of his own to play his pranks with. When he was two or three and twenty, he twice left a foreign station without leave, thus setting an example which might ruin the discipline of the navy, if left unpunished. But how adequately to punish

sponding security in the powerlessness of British sovereigns. Whenever the 'war of opinion,' of which the world had been now and then reminded since Canning's time, should overrun Europe, the danger would be for kings who govern as well as reign, or for those who really reign instead of occupying the throne through a political fiction. If such an outbreak should occur in the time of Queen Victoria, she would if personally blameless, be perfectly secure—secure alike in her political sinecurism and her personal blamelessness. This truth, perceived and expressed at the time, has been confirmed by events sooner than some expected. While revolutions have come like whirlwinds to sweep kings from their continental thrones, our sovereign has sat safe in her island with not a hair of the royal ermine raised by the blast. If, on the one hand, she has been wholly and necessarily unable to do many things that were expected from her by the unreasonable, who worshipped an idea and not herself—on the other hand, we have her safe, and need fear no harm to the lightest of her royal sensibilities. If it is no longer the privilege it once was to be a sovereign, it is something of a blessing to have some influence still remaining for a ruling power which people, and for which they must be responsible to each other.

As we have seen, the queen returned to the late ministers their seals of office, and it was presently known throughout the country that Lord Melbourne and his coadjutors were to be allowed another trial whether or not they could govern the country.

CHAPTER X

Party Discontents—The Queen's Favour—Radical Reform Party

... not the ministers, before
 ... but one ray of com-
 ... the country, he augured

much from the character of the new sovereign. His party generally saw something brighter in the future—more rays of comfort than one.

The Melbourne ministry was reduced to its lowest point of weakness and shame. After the elections of 1831, only six county seats had been held by Tory members, and the Whig government had a majority of 300. That majority had declined to 26; and after the elections on the demise of the crown it sank again to 12. The Tories thought that a vigorous effort at the beginning of a new reign might give them everything; and they were evidently resolved to spare no exertions to unseat six reformers at least, and thus obtain a majority in the House. The case of the Whigs was desperate; and there is a tone in the political pamphlets of the time which shows this. The people were weary of the eternal disputes and party conflicts about Irish questions and Church questions, while the great interests that were dear to the Liberals of England and Scotland stood over for discussion in a future time which seemed further off every session. When a ministry knows what it is about, and sets well about its work, the opposition helps to govern the country, and does it almost as effectually, by testing and purifying government measures, as the responsible party itself; but the Melbourne administration was so weak and unskilful as to render the opposition purely destructive; and this was more than the country would or could bear. No small number of the Radical party themselves, and multitudes of the moderates throughout the country, began to declare that they hoped the Tories would get into office, so that the Whigs might recover vigour in opposition, and that the two reforming parties might once more come into union, and the country be, in one way or another, really governed once more. In such a condition of affairs, it was natural, that the Conservatives should suppose themselves about to step into the seats of power. They were already making declarations, or dropping hints of what they should do in such a case; they should not repeal the poor-law, nor interfere with any expressed and fulfilled decision of parliament on any subject; but should preserve the Church from further spoliation; and so forth.

tiously, and the prime-minister supported the consequent
 with so little delicacy to a wounded spirit,
 offended Their exclusive
 the impure and disloyal to
 orth rumours, which would

never have been dreamed of if the royal household had
 been constituted on the ordinary principle of bringing
 together persons so impartial in political affairs, or so
 well balanced against each other, as to be able to retain
 their places, and give their sovereign the comfort of their
 customary attendance, through any changes in the cabinet
 It was very well to be prompt in calling the Bradshaws
 and the Robys to account from the home office and the
 Horse Guards &c

but members of
 never have utter

guardianship of the queen's domestic life had not been
 appropriated by a coterie Yet, with all that their use of
 the queen's name at the elections could do, the Whigs
 found themselves left with a majority of only twelve A
 paragraph from a pamphlet of the day shows with what
 agonising earnestness they were driven to sue the radical
 reformers for aid 'All parties,' says the writer, under-
 stood to be official, 'those for the ballot, those for extended
 suffrage those for the abolition of church rates, those for
 grand plans of public education, those for the appropriation
 of land in Ireland, those for

than at present exists and all enter the
 new session with this conviction thoroughly impressed
 upon their minds, that there is not one of these questions,
 no, not one, which is not secondary to the great object of
 maintaining Lord Melbourne's cabinet, as the great agent
 of future improvement, free from every species of present
 embarrassment'

It was impossible to read this without amusement
 Even the most devoted adherents of Lord Melbourne could
 not read gravely such an imitation of his easy assurance
 The writer might have been Lord Melbourne himself for
 the impudence—there is no other word—with which he
 connected ideas of 'improvement' and 'freedom from

embarrassment' with the Melbourne administration. The reply of the radical reformers to this appeal was characteristic. They showed how the existence of the Melbourne ministry depended on the prosecution of the very questions which it was proposed to put aside for the sake of it. They were willing to uphold the existing administration with all their forces, if it would mend its ways; and without that it could not be helped by anybody. They pointed out that, throughout the country, the moderate Whigs, wearied out, were becoming Radicals every day; and intimated that if the government would follow the example of these converts, it might be saved from ruin, but not otherwise. It might become Radical, or yield its place to the Conservatives; the one thing certain was that it could not remain what it was; and that a Tory rule would be better for the country, by rousing its energies, and testing its condition, than a continuance of a Whig government, which was merely a name.

From the beginning of the reform struggle, the number of radical reformers in the House had never been less than 70 or 80; and in the last parliament they had been 150. It was strange that they had not yet been a powerful party; and it would be stranger still if they did not become so now. Now was the time for them to show what they could do, when the Whigs were humbly asking alms of them—petitioning them for ideas and measures, and the support without which they must sink. These radical reform members were men of conscience, of enlightenment, of intellectual ability, and moral earnestness, of good station, and, generally speaking, independent fortune. They were so unlike the vulgar Tory representation of them—so far from being destructives and demagogues—that the sober-minded of the community might more reasonably trust them for the conservation of property than either the Conservatives or the Whigs. Whig government under Lord Melbourne was a lottery; and all propositions of the time for shaving the fundholder, for tampering with the debt, for perilling the land by a return to poor-law abuses, for interfering with the rights of property in its public investments and private operations—all such destructive schemes proceeded from the rankest Conservatives, and

is the declaration of the radical reformers 'To the people, at the present moment, we have but one exhortation to give—let them hold themselves in readiness. No one knows what times may be coming, no one knows how soon, or in what cause, his most strenuous exertions may be required. Ireland is already organised. Let England and Scotland be prepared at the first summons to start into political unions. Let the House of Commons be inundated with petitions on every subject on which reformers are able to agree. Let reformers meet, combine and, above all, register. The time may be close at hand when the man who has lost a vote, which he might have given for the ballot or for some other question of the first magnitude, will have cause bitterly to repent the negligence and supineness which have deprived him of his part in the struggle. All else may be left till the hour of need, but to secure a vote is a duty for which there is no postponement. This let the reformers do, and let them then stand at their arms, and wait their opportunity.'

This was but a lowering dayspring of regality for the young queen. Her servants were weak, assailed by vehement foes, and pitied by the supporters of whom they implored help. Everybody seemed aware that something fearful was impending, and the wise uttered cautions, and sent out admonitions, while the sovereign was launching into the pleasures of freedom and supremacy. As yet, smiles were on her face and joy was in her movements, whenever she was seen in public, and the most serious and severe of those who watched her, hoped that she would not be officiously and too soon alarmed by tidings of the storms that were driving up from afar, and the gloom of distress which was deepening over the people at home.

CHAPTER XI.

Portents in Europe—France—The Representation—Free Trade Inquiry—Monster Trial—Plots—Strasburg Insurrection—Press Law—Foreign Relations—Algeria—Release of State Prisoners—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans—Of the Princess Marie—Distress—Dissolution of the Chamber—Death of Talleyrand—Spain—Queen Regent—Queen Isabella—Carlist War—British Legion—Three young Queens—Portugal—The English in Portugal—Portuguese Indigence—Central Europe—Zoll Verein—Austrian Commercial Treaty—Russia—The Emperor at Warsaw—Passage of the Dardanelles—Circassia—Persia—Cracow—Death of the Emperor of Austria—Coronation of his Successor—Hanover—Proceedings of the King—Denmark—Opening of a Constitution—Sweden and Norway—Holland and Belgium—Young Germany—Switzerland—Prince Louis Napoleon—Zillerthal Protestants—Lutherans of Prussia—Mixed Marriages—The Pietists—Hungary.

As for the state of affairs abroad, on the accession of Victoria to the British throne, it was a subject of anxious contemplation to persons who looked beneath the surface of royal speeches and official summaries, with the prophecy of a war of opinion in Europe full in their minds. As yet, there was no threat from any quarter of a dissolution of the great continental peace; and sovereigns congratulated themselves each on his good understanding with other sovereigns: but there were movements in several countries which showed to the observant that the opposition of the principles of despotism and liberty—of government for the people and government by the people—was working in the heart of society throughout western Europe, while the process was keenly watched from the great throne of despotism in the east. Of all the countries in which the preparation for a decisive war of opinion was going on, France was, for various reasons, the most interesting to England.

The obvious domestic politics of France might have appeared dull and tiresome enough to those who did not know what they signified. It is truly wearisome to look over the debates of the French chambers, and see how

rows of eight each'—from which the king could by no means escape. But again the police found it all out. The public were weary of such stories by this time, and it seemed that the king could be taken good care of by the police, so there was an apathy among respectable citizens on this last occasion which somewhat shocked the government, and which was not dispersed even when the traitors became riotous on receiving sentence, and were sustained by the sympathy of the people in court who hissed, groaned and cried 'murder, till the guards were called in to clear the place.

A military insurrection was interposed among these attempts at assassination. Napoleon and Josephine planned a marriage between Josephine's daughter Hortense and Napoleon's third brother, Louis for a time King of Holland, and this marriage was forced on, in defiance of the mutual disinclination of the parties most concerned. The union was a wretched one—the husband and wife rarely meeting and being quite unable to continue together. The only surviving issue of this marriage, at the date before us was Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, then a captain of artillery in the Swiss service. He obtained a footing in the garrison of Strasburg and on the morning of the 30th of October 1836, showed himself there in a dress resembling his uncle's, and proposed to call France to arms to place him on the throne. Some of the men shouted for Napoleon III, but presently, while the prince and some attendants were addressing a few soldiers in a barrack, the gates were shut upon them, and they were arrested. By the end of November, the prince was half way over the Atlantic, being banished to the United States. His accomplices were actually acquitted, in the face of indisputable evidence of their treason. The crowd, the garrison, and the general population of Strasburg rejoiced without control, and spent the day as a fete, and the gloom of the ministers and dismay of the king were in proportion. The mother of Prince Louis Napoleon died in the next October, her failing health being broken up by anxiety for her only son.

Such events as these bringing after them evidences of an unpopularity of the sovereign extending far beyond

the mad conspirators themselves, seem to have merely exasperated the self-will and folly of the king; and the most conspicuous proof of this, and of his unfitness for the office of citizen-king, appears in his insufferable repression of the press. Before the end of 1835, he was actually holding the position of Charles X. against the press. The prosecution of journals, and fining and imprisonment of editors, had gone on till some of the liberal newspapers were ruined. The *Tribune* gave up, after having been prosecuted 112 times. But this was found insufficient; and new laws were proposed to protect the prosperity of France—‘a prosperity of five years intermingled with danger’—by shielding ‘the king of her choice’ against attacks. ‘Order was not yet completely established;’ neither a Carlist press nor a republican press could be permitted to exist; and the law proposed for putting them down equals any Carlist despotism which could be conceived of by a Polignac. Fine and imprisonment were to be the consequence of introducing the king, either directly or indirectly, or by any allusion, into any discussion of the acts of the government; also of expressing any wish, hope, or threat in relation to either Carlism or republicanism. The bill, with a long list of atrocious provisions, was carried by the power of the crown and its functionaries; the heart-stricken opposition, who now saw their country and themselves under a precisely similar oppression to that which they had thrown off five years before, giving solemn warning that ‘laws like the present might afflict, but could not terrify, good men;’ and that the matter could not end here. The condition of the French nation, in regard to its liberties, was even worse than it had been in 1830; for now the blow at freedom of speech was struck not only by king and ministers, but with the aid of the chambers. The king had got but too much of the representation into his own grasp; and the state of the nation was so much worse than it had been in 1830, that good men thought it their duty rather to endure than to resist under circumstances of order and freedom. The king followed prosecutions of editors for assertions in that the ministers wished to show +

sickleness, and incapacity. As for the reforms proposed from time to time and discussed by the cortes, there was no leisure for their prosecution, amidst the perpetual alarms of war, and occurrence of insurrections, and the state of the finances was too desperate to afford hope of any really good government which did not begin by their rectification.

As for the other department of Spanish interests—the war between the queen and her uncle Don Carlos—it is too disgusting and terrible to be needlessly contemplated. In 1835, the Carlists encouraged the discontents of the most extravagant of the liberal party, in the hope of profiting by the embarrassment of the government and they succeeded. They obtained many advantages in the north of Spain, where the warfare chiefly lay. The cruelty on both sides became so atrocious, that the Duke of Wellington sent out Lord Eliot, during the short Peel administration of that year, to endeavour to bring the hostile leaders to an agreement to spare the lives of their prisoners. For a short time this did good, but in the next year, a circumstance happened which seemed to turn the combatants on both sides into devils and it was from that time impossible for human power to soften the diabolism of the war. The mother of Cabrera, the Carlist leader of the hour, had been accused of some traitorous meddling, and, as the queen's general declared in his own defence, sentenced to death. But she was a poor old woman of seventy whose example or whose life could be of no public importance. The governor of Tortosa was required by the queen's officer to deliver her up for execution in retaliation for some slaughterous deeds of her son's. The governor refused and application was made to General Mina, the queen's commander in chief, who actually enforced the order and had the poor creature shot in the public square of Tortosa. Cabrera was driven frantic by this act, being 'romantically attached' to his mother. He declared that thirty women should suffer a fate as his tribute to his mother's memory. He —wives of officers—whom more afteryards. This is enough. We see here — s necessary to our review.

of the time, and to our appreciation of the part taken in the war by Englishmen. It is not pleasant to have to record that Englishmen had any share whatever in a war so barbarous as to shed more or less disgrace on all who voluntarily aided either side; and so ill conducted as to cast no reflex glory on the act. There is something repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen, in our present age and state of advancement, in our countrymen going forth as mercenaries, by their own choice, to fight in a quarrel of succession in any foreign country; and our inclination leads us to be as cursory as possible in our notice of the British Legion which went to Spain under General Evans in 1835.

When the queen's government became alarmed by the successes of the Carlists in that year, the cabinet applied for aid to the three powers in alliance with Spain—Britain, France, and Portugal. Britain declined to send troops, though she would not object to France doing so; and the arms and ammunition already furnished to the amount of £200,000, were considered sufficient. France followed the example of England—promising, however, that the Pyrenean frontier should be watched, that no assistance might reach the Carlists by that way. Portugal was bound by a recent treaty to send 6,000 troops when required; but it was found inconvenient and dangerous to do so, and the queen broke her engagement—breaking up her cabinet, and one or two succeeding ones on the occasion. Failing thus far, the Spanish cabinet next desired of the King of England that he would suspend the Foreign Enlistment Act, that the Spanish government might raise in England a body of 11,000 mercenaries. This was done in June 1835; and during the summer months, the strange spectacle was seen of recruiting through the towns and villages of Great Britain. It is impossible that the merits of the case could have been understood by all those who enlisted. They went out to war as a trade or an adventure, without even the name of a great popular cause to inscribe upon their banners. We have an account of the affair from a volunteer who owns that he anticipated but little fighting, but hoped that the mere showing themselves would f

the queen's troops, and annihilate the Carlists; and then intended to write a book about Spain, and publish it

Legion in Spain, and the insulting indignities which they were treated; but this is needless, as the whole affair ought to be regarded as a private speculation—no more claiming a place in history than any unfortunate commercial or agricultural adventure, by sea or land. The of all this, an older man, who had seen the light on the nature of the enterprise which he led. He issued a proclamation in June 1836, declaring that, as the legion was now in junction with the British Marines, every Englishman found fighting on the side of Don Carlos would be put to death as a traitor to the King of England. A commander of mercenaries could with no ill grace so threaten mercenaries on the other side—be the Royal Marines present or absent. If the Foreign Enlistment Act was suspended, it was unreasonable to quarrel with men for using their freedom of enlistment in aid of any cause which might seem good in their eyes. Either way, it appeared that Englishmen were to slay Englishmen in a cause for which none of them cared. During these years, the Carlists now and then swept through Spain and back again to their mountains, as if to prove that they were not unacceptable to the nation who let them pass, without hindrance and without loss. Now we see them down in the extreme south-west—on the very coast—often hemmed in, but always getting out, and dragging two or three royal armies helplessly after them; and again, at the gates of Madrid—the queen quaking in her palace, or flying by night. In the year 1838, the Carlists received some checks, in alternation with their victories. Don Carlos married in that year—his sister-in-law, the widow of Don Pedro, having crossed France privately to become his bride, under a dispensation from the pope. It was hoped that this lady might bring some humanising influences into his camp, and relieve the horror with

which it was regarded by the world. As for the royal cause—the queen-regent spoke in strong terms of the friendship of the Queen of England, and of hope from various sources; but her voice and manner were faint and faltering, and no one wondered; for the state was bankrupt in fact, while pompous in professions; and the forlorn condition of her little daughter must have struck the regent more forcibly than ever while she was exhibiting the value of the friendship of the Queen of England.

It seemed somewhat like a mockery of the monarchial system from one point of view, or an emphatic tribute to it from another, that there should have been at one time three queens in Europe who came to the throne between the ages of three and eighteen; a mockery, if the mental and moral qualities of two out of the three were regarded, and a tribute to the power of the theory and ideal when it was seen how all were supported in their kingly seat—whether in consequence or in spite of their personal qualities. The spoiled child in Spain, and the wilful girl in Portugal, were queens still, in the midst of state poverty, turbulence, and popular discontents without end—as truly as the intelligent and conscientious Victoria, who had reached womanhood before she became queen. Isabella was not yet old enough to cause trouble to her ministers by her own qualities; but her neighbour at Lisbon was. The Queen of Portugal was seventeen when she married again in 1835; and she had been for some time out of her minority. She left her ministers no peace. A serious quarrel at this time was about making her new husband commander-in-chief. She was resolved that it should be so, and had agreed expressly to the arrangement as a part of the marriage stipulations, though her ministers and parliament were pledged by a late decision, made to meet the case, not to permit any foreigner to hold that most responsible office. Ministry and parliament were broken up in consequence; and in the midst of the confusion, before the new cortes met, there was a revolution: the queen was compelled to accept the constitution of 1820, and to deprive her husband of his office, because it was incompatible with the working of that constitution. The assent of the queen and her friends to the instrument was

customs-duties—about fixing their amount, and levying them. Each little state had its own complete fence of custom houses, and its own scale of duties; and the inconvenience, injury, and ill humor caused by such a plan were clear to everybody. It was the King of Prussia who exerted himself to substitute a better system, and his ultimate success was an excellent test of the temper and commercial philosophy of Englishmen. Many made an outcry that it was the Emperor of Russia who was really the mover—instigating his Prussian friend to an achievement by which he hoped to humble the manufacturing and commercial consequence of Great Britain, but the true free traders of England saw the matter in a happier light. They saw that England must make haste to remove what restrictions remained on any branch of her commerce, but that done, it would be cause of mere rejoicing when restrictions on commerce were done away in any part of the world, since the natural prosperity of any one part is more or less good for every other. Such observers looked on with deep interest, unmixed with fear, while state after

ceased to be foreign to each other. Baden held out long, on account of her nearness to France, but she joined in 1835. Nassau held out one year longer. The free city of Frankfort was kept back by an existing treaty with England which was incompatible with the new arrangement, but the British government saw how Frankfort would be injured by exclusion from the league, and, with her, such British commerce as went forward there, and the treaty was given up. In January 1836, Frankfort entered the league, and the King of Prussia saw his great work complete, though no one called it faultless. Some of its provisions were seen to be unwise, and others might turn out so in practice, but here was a commercial union, extending from the Baltic and the Niemen to the Alps and the Lake of Constance. Old-fashioned politicians regarded with satisfaction what they took for a return to a natural state of territorial sympathy, while men of the new school saw in the arrangement an important aid in the preserva-

tion of peace, in times of political irritation. A commercial treaty between Austria and England was concluded in 1838, by which the Danube was freely opened to British vessels, as far as Galatz, and all British ports, with Malta and Gibraltar, as freely to Austrian vessels. Under the dread of Russia which at this period afflicted a great number of Englishmen to a point beyond all reason and all dignity, this treaty was regarded as a Russian work, as much as the Prussian league; and it was predicted that, by a quiet neglect of shoals and sandbars near the outlets of the Danube, Russia would obtain almost exclusive control over the pulsations of that great artery of the life of despotism.

Exaggerated and malignant as were the fears of some of our countrymen about Russia, there were few sensible men who thought them wholly baseless. No one who looked forward to an ultimate war of opinion in Europe could fail to see that Russia herself occupied nearly one-half of the speculation. She might be poor, in proportion to her bulk—ill-compacted, corrupt, slavish, possessed of few of the modern elements of power; but she had the ancient, and they would tell for much in a struggle to establish ancient principles of domination. She was military throughout her whole organisation—as completely formed for foreign invasion as incapable of domestic prosperity and peace. She sits looking abroad over Europe—the representative there of Asiatic despotism; and her character does not change as years pass on. While modification proceeds everywhere else—while Denmark and Prussia were talking of having parliaments, and Austria was penetrated by new ideas, Russia has remained what she was—possessed of the ancient elements of power, and universally supposed to be inclined to use them for the destruction of the modern, which are in her eyes purely a nuisance. She was not inactive, while thus unchangeable. She has her feelers out in all extremities of the earth and bounds of the sea, and everywhere she silently plants her force while men are looking another way. Wherever people of any nation go, they find that Russia has been before them. If they go fur-hunting in the northern wilds of America, they come upon a Russian fort. If they wander to an

inland sea in Asia, on some commanding promontory they find a Russian fort. Among the swamps of an African delta, or the sands at the mouth of the Red River, they find a Russian fort. If these are not hints of a project of a future universal empire, they are at least a fact which should go for what it is worth, on the face of it. It may be absurd enough to allege—as some wild terrorists have done—that a British statesman has, in our day, been found purchasable by Russian gold, it may be fanciful to imagine the voice of Russia to be whispering the terms of every treaty, and the hand of Russia conducting every transaction throughout the length and breadth of Europe, but it would be mere carelessness not to watch her movements, and a treachery to the cause of freedom to forget that from Russia will proceed, sooner or later, the most perilous attacks she has yet to sustain.

Putting aside the surmises of alarmists, we find the Emperor of Russia laying a heavy hand, here and there, on the destinies of nations. In the autumn of 1835, he met the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria, in the course of a

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much beyond what appeared prudent to everybody but himself, that it was widely believed that he was mad. He told the authorities of Warsaw that he was calm, and spoke without rancour, and he assured them that if they cherished any illusion of the nationality of Poland, it should be the worse for them, if they manifested in any way such an idea he would level Warsaw with the ground. He desired that what he said might be fixed in their memories, and truly, it was not likely to be forgotten. The speech found its way into a French newspaper, and thence it spread over the world, greatly reviving popular sympathy with the Polish cause. This was increased by his audacious act of raising a loan in the name of Poland, which caused the Polish refugees in all countries to warn the world publicly that Poland disclaimed the loan, and considered every man the enemy of that country who contributed by this mode to the increase of its burdens. As

for Turkey, she was wholly in the power of Russia, now that Russia had saved her from Egypt; and she obeyed, when required to promise that no armed vessel should pass from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea, without the express permission of Russia. In the Treaty of Adrianople, Circassia had been made over to Russia; but the Circassians did not acquiesce, and fought a noble battle, from year to year, in resistance to the annexation. The best rulers and soldiers of the east in our time have come from Circassia; and no one wonders at this who watches the conflict between the exasperation of Russia and the patriotism of Circassia. During the period before us, the Russians made little or no progress—the climate and structure of the country being as fatal to them as favourable to the inhabitants. This war brought England into apparent danger of a collision with Russia. An English vessel, the *Vixen*, landed salt on the coast, at a port which the Circassians had recovered from their foe. A Russian cruiser seized the *Vixen* on the plea that she had transgressed some customs regulations, and also that she had landed ammunition for the benefit of the Circassians. The last allegation was positively denied; and, as for the first, it was declared that Russia had no right to impose customs regulations at that part of the coast. The legality of the seizure was discussed in parliament and the newspapers, till most people were convinced that the affair was a mere plot of a few factious men to embroil the two countries; and the subject was dropped at last, without any distinct claim of release being made by the British government. The tone of Russia towards the people who were successfully resisting her may be judged of by the wording of a letter from the invading general, Williamineff, to the patriot chiefs. Copies were taken, and the letter was read with a painful kind of amusement throughout Europe: ‘Are you not aware that, if the heavens should fall, Russia could prop them with her bayonets? The English may be good mechanics and artisans, but power dwells only with Russia. No country ever waged successful war against her. Russia is the most powerful of all nations. If you desire peace, you must be convinced that there are but two powers in existence—God in heaven, and

prevent the publication and circulation of the works of Young Germany, but as long experience has proved, it is not in the power of governments to coerce the press effectually and the proscribed works continued to be written, printed, and read. The next attempt in 1836 was to prevent the writers passing from one state into another, and the Germanic Diet adopted resolutions for this object which brought them into collision with the legislatures of the respective states, as unwisely as their previous action against the liberty of the press. The Swiss Directory was peremptorily required to deliver up the members of the Young Germany Clubs, or to coerce them and a disagreement among the cantons as to how far they would admit these demands of foreign governments was one cause of the trouble and dissensions which agitated Switzerland during this period.

The troubles of Switzerland were too many and too intricate to be followed out here. We can do little more than remark that religion was implicated with most of them. One serious quarrel with France was on account of the conduct of the grand council of Basel in breaking through a contract, on the ground of the religion of the purchaser of an estate. A French banker had purchased an estate, and paid for it, but when the Basel authorities heard that he was a Jew, they annulled the contract. France considered this a breach of treaty and threatened war. Out of this grew more bigotry, and further disputes, and several times it appeared impossible that peace could be preserved. The Catholic and Protestant cantons were also becoming discontented with each other, and the Protestant and Catholic parties within the particular cantons. When it became clear that something must be done, opinions were taken as to the policy of revising the federal settlement, a measure which was favoured by some and opposed by others. While this was under discussion, Prince Louis Napoleon returned from America and pursued other objects than attending the death bed of his mother. With a selfishness as remarkable as his folly, he at once embroiled Switzerland with France. He had obtained citizenship in Thurgau, and the inhabitants were therefore implicated in his

quarrel, as they could not admit that a citizen of their state could be ordered away on the command of a foreign government. The prince allowed the passions of both parties to become exasperated on his account, and even permitted the affair to proceed so far as that the French ambassador was ordered to demand his passports, before he withdrew himself from the hospitality which he was enjoying at the expense of the peace of nations. It remains inexplicable what this prince imagined he had to give that could compensate to the French people and their neighbours for the mischiefs that he was perpetually devising, and the tumults that he was endeavouring to draw them into.

The Austrian government in the same year committed a more daring outrage on the rights of conscience than could have been supposed possible in the age in which we live. In the Ziller Valley, in the Tyrol, lived some people—under 500 in number—who had become Protestants some dozen years before, and who practised their religion in peace and quiet in their mountain retreat. They were warned by government that they must not stay there, unless they joined the Catholic Church, but they might repair to any Protestant part of the empire. They clung to their mountain-home; and a denial of civil rights was next resorted to. They were persecuted with every kind of social vexation that could be inflicted, and forbidden to practise their religion. Their churches were closed, and their every act watched and made painful; till, worn out at length, they prayed for permission to emigrate into Prussia; which was exactly what Metternich wanted. The Prussian government invited them to settle in Silesia; and there they went, the exhausted and indignant victims of a religious persecution which has disgraced our age.

The Prussian government was meantime a sinner in the same direction. The King of Prussia actually attempted to bring together the two fiercely opposed parties in Silesia—the Lutherans and the Reformed—by amalgamating their modes of worship. The Lutherans objected, and opposed some of their clergy who would have enforced the union. The government insisted

hated their neighbours of the United States—having themselves come to Canada, rather than live under the yoke. On the other hand these loyalists were not at all pleased at the competition set up by the new-comers, and the French in the Lower Province were alarmed at the arrival of so many British as threatened to swamp their race and interests in no long time. These French formed the first political opposition ever known in Canada, and in the Upper Province, there was presently an opposition too—only, it consisted, not of the old residents, but of the new-comers.

All this was clearly a simple process of advance from colonial inferior to a less dependent and more stirring condition, and government showed that it thought so, by requiring the colony to bear more than hitherto of its expenses. All possible care should have been taken at home to render the long transition which had now begun as easy as it could be made by a spirit of justice and watchful superintending care, while the young colony was trying its powers. In stead of this, and wholly by the fault of the imperial government, an opposition was now permitted to arise between the executive and legislature such as is considered a fatal circumstance at home when it is the work of a Stuart—a circumstance so fatal as to justify the armed resistance of a Hampden and a Cromwell. As long as it was possible, the Canadian executive went on in its own way, strengthening its power by enlarging its patronage and disregarding the fruitless complaints of the assembly. But when the assembly proceeded to try whether or not it had any power—whether it was a reality or a mockery—when it began to pass measures to weaken the other branch or to strengthen its own the government interposed with an act worthy only of the Stuarts. The legislative council was composed of Tories who would be sure to contravene the proceedings of the assembly. From that time the struggle between the branches of the government in Canada became disgraceful to the mother-country which had permitted it. Each party was as provoking as possible to the other, but every one must see that the assembly was the party most to be considered and pitied.

It represented the large majority of the inhabitants of both provinces, who found themselves not only excluded from office and influence, but unable to get any good measure passed—as every popular measure was, as a matter of course, thrown out by the council. Under these circumstances, the assembly of the Lower Province stopped the supplies for the payment of official salaries in 1833; and the Upper Province followed the example in 1836. The demands which they thus enforced were different in the two provinces—the Upper requiring that the executive council should be made responsible to the assembly—and the Lower, that the legislative council should be made elective. This last demand was in accordance with the opinion of Mr. Fox, given forty years before, in a speech which had prophesied the evils that in fact had arisen; but it was solemnly refused by the imperial legislature in the form of an assent, by an overpowering majority, to the resolutions proposed by Lord John Russell on the 6th of March 1837. The division took place on the 14th of April, when the minister was supported by a majority of 269 to 46.

The Lower Canadians were only roused by this. They supposed the British government to be ignorant of the state of the case; and this ignorance might be dispelled by a troublesome perseverance in demands. At any rate, whatever had been obtained from the government during a long course of years, had been gained by means of incessant demands, and of dogged refusal of everything that it was in their power to refuse till their demands were granted. Those rulers have much to answer for who teach any people such a lesson as this; yet Lord John Russell saw so little into the culpability of the government as to declare, in the speech which alienated his best supporters, that the government of Canada had been one long course of concessions. The government of a growing colony ought always to be a long course of concessions; and if the government be bad, the difference is that the concessions are less advantageous, from being extorted, than they would have been if made for better reasons.

The rage excited in Canada by the news of the decision

to government at home about the necessity of completing them obtained any attention. Some of the old tenures of land were vexatious and detrimental, and there was no registration of land. Education was in a backward state; though among the French population, virtuous efforts had been made for the instruction of their children. What the spirit of rancour was between the two races and political parties, there is no need to repeat.

Such was the state of things when Lord Durham landed at Quebec on the 29th of May. Within a few weeks there was a great change. It used to be said of Lord Durham in his foreign missions, that a week or so was spent first in

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Lord Durham

his plans of hanging rebels, and to publish a general amnesty, by which minds were set at rest. Before June

was out, provision was made for paving and lighting, and furnishing a good police to Quebec and Montreal. By

means of a land commission, a path was opened to colonists, and the most abundant of all sources of colonial prosperity

was freely opened up. A good court of appeal was constituted of the judges, with two additional members.

The new executive council was made the
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mutation. An education commission saw its way to the establishment of a general system of education by which the adverse races might be united in schools and colleges,

so that in another generation their present animosity might have become a tradition.

These were not small things to have done in the course of a few weeks; but there were two affairs—one more immediately embarrassing, the other more eminently important, than any of these—which still more deeply engaged the minds of the governor-general and his coadjutors. The permanently important subject was the scheme of constituting a federal union of the British North American provinces, for the two objects of securing good government for these colonies themselves, and of providing a counterbalance to the increasing power of the United States in the western hemisphere. This scheme appears to be one of those whose fulfilment is only a question of time. It has been suggested and re-suggested by statesmen, from Mr. Fox downwards—if not from an earlier date still. Mr. Roebuck introduced it, formally and completely, in the House of Commons, in April 1837; and Sir R. Peel, Lord Howick, Mr. Ellice, and others, declared their approval of it. Lord Durham began immediately to inquire and act—conceiving that no surer means of securing peace in the colonies could be found than uniting their legislation in matters of common interest to them all—such as the conduct of their defence in time of war, post-office and currency matters, and others—while their local affairs were ruled by a legislature in each colony. Sir Charles Grey, who had been one of Lord Gosford's commissioners, had proposed to divide the Canadas into three provinces, with their respective parliaments; by which plan he believed the adverse races would be so separated as to cease to annoy each other, while their representatives might meet in a central parliament, to legislate upon the navigation of the St. Lawrence, their commercial duties, their monetary system, their railroads, canals, and internal communications. Lord Durham was disposed in favour of the large federal system, and of also dividing the Canadas into three provinces—the westernmost of which would be exclusively British; the easternmost French, of a very quiet sort; and the intermediate one containing both populations, but the French in a small minority. The numbers in the two Canadas were at that time

Durham used powers which Sir J Colborne had used without question, his watchful enemy seized his opportunity to scare his friends from supporting him, as they were pledged to do. Considering all this, and that Lord Durham was to blame in not having furnished the government at home with sufficient documentary material for his defence, Mr Charles Buller earnestly desired to hold out, for the high prize of success in retrieving the colony, and forming a new and sound colonial system. But he soon saw that Lord Durham was right in proposing to return. The governor general had not health for such a struggle as this must now have been. Energy and decision were not always to be commanded in the degree necessary under such unequalled difficulties, and death in the midst of the work was only too probable. Again, the colony was still in too restive and unsettled a state to be governed by an enfeebled hand, and while unsupported at home, Lord Durham was a less safe ruler than Sir J Colborne, whom he would leave in his place. Again, it was now clear that the true battle field on behalf of Canada was in parliament. With his present knowledge in his head, and his matured schemes in his hand, Lord Durham could do more for Canada in the House of Lords than he could do at Quebec, while the Lords made nightly attacks which drew rebuke even from the Duke of Wellington, and thwarted the policy which they did not understand. Thus resignation was an act of sad and stern necessity, but, if not so, it was an act of clear fidelity to Canada. It was hastened by rumours of intended insurrection which under the circumstances, could be dealt with only by Sir J Colborne.

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punished were they to be punished over again? The
violent loyalists would have arrested them, and then
would have ensued the very evils with aggravation that
the ordinance was designed to obviate. The guilt would
have been proved, and acquittal would have followed, in
the face of the evidence. There must have been—to avoid
such a spectacle as this—a suspension of the habeas corpus,

or packed juries, or martial law; and if Lord Durham would not introduce such measures for the punishment of the rebels at an earlier date, he would not do it now, to repunish a few of them long after the rebellion had ceased. These men were as yet feeble and insignificant—the few against whom there was a sufficiency of evidence; but they would become abundantly formidable if it could once be said in the United States, and around their own homes, that they were persecuted by the British government. This would be made the pretext of the rebellion then brewing; which might otherwise be easily dealt with from its want of pretext. There was also no time to be lost; for the men might now arrive any day. Lord Durham was therefore advised to meet the difficulty half-way—to speak the first word—and to do it by inserting in his needful proclamation a declaration that there was now nothing to prevent the return of the prisoners. Lord Durham himself observed that this would be regarded at home as a freak of temper; but his council encouraged him to brave the imputation, and trust to the facts becoming understood in time. The act *was* called a freak of temper; and so was his determination to return; and so was his proclamation—which is considered by impartial observers one of the finest papers of its kind that our history can show. It was not a case in which there could be any concealment or shuffling. To enlist the colonists on the side of obedience and order, it was necessary to tell them simply why he must leave them—why the rebels whom he had punished were released by the home government—and how it was that the plans for the welfare of the colony were suddenly stopped. It was necessary, for the same purpose, to keep up their hope and trust in government—to show them that all might yet be well if he went home to explain their case—to lead them to rely on him still, as resolved in their cause. The proclamation was issued on the 9th of October; and its immediate effect was to soften the grief and wrath of the colony at losing him—to allay excessive agitation—and to prove that he had not miscalculated the resources of the colony, by bringing forward volunteers, in fresh confidence, for the defence of the province.

to the project, and there are still many on both sides the water who doubt whether the matter is settled yet. The elections were conducted with much riot and some loss of life, and the first proceedings of the united legislature were stormy, but, on the whole, matters went better than the governor expected, and in a private letter of the 27th of

soldier, but a statesman—will find no difficulties in his path that he cannot easily surmount, for everything will be in grooves, running of itself and only requiring general direction. If this was too much to anticipate, it is certain that the improvements achieved in two years were very remarkable. Men's minds were calmed, credit was re-established, public works were in rapid progress, and confidence in the imperial rule, and hope from the colonial government, had in a great degree superseded hatred and fear.

Lord Sydenham's health was too much shaken by disease to permit him to sustain any shock of accident, and he died in September 1841, from the consequences of his horse falling with him—by which his leg was broken. He gave his attention to public affairs to the last, with great calmness and fortitude. His age was only forty-two.

The first association with the name of Mr C Poulett Thomson always was, and is still of a repeal of the corn laws. He was the son of a merchant, and no man in England—not Mr Huskisson himself—ever had a more thorough understanding of the soundness of the principle of free-trade. It was to advocate this principle—and especially in regard to corn—that Mr Thomson was returned by Manchester as her representative. For a time he did the duty well, and when he became a member of the Whig administration he stipulated for freedom to advocate a repeal of the corn laws. But this soon grew a cold and formal affair, and we know by an extract from his private journal, written on his voyage to Canada that he was conscious of having lost ground with the Liberal party, and as a speaker—in Manchester, and the House of Commons. 'Manchester and the House of Commons are

no longer what they were to me.' His office of chancellor of the exchequer was so disagreeable to him, that he would give up the cabinet and parliament to avoid it. He was glad to get away to Canada, and do there, by himself, the work that was pressing to be done. He and the political world seem to have been, at that time, in a state of mutual disappointment; and the reason appears to have been that he was not in himself lofty enough for the position assigned him. He was an able man—had a clear head, and a strong will, and much knowledge; but there was little morally noble in him but his strength of will—shown in his industry and his endurance of pain. He did many useful things at the Board of Trade; and he found his most favourable position when he went to Canada; but he neither entertained nor inspired political faith, nor drew towards himself any high respect or genial admiration. Though his last scene of action was his greatest and best, he was regarded, and is still, as one of the Whig failures—one of the ministers of a critical period, who, while possessed of considerable talents and some good political qualities, have done more than many worse men to shake a nation's faith—if not in the principles of politics, at least in those who are the most forward in the profession of them. The professions of Whig reformers while rehearsing the death-knell of abuses, have but too often reminded us of Dr. Johnson's knocking and summoning ghost; the conclusion in both cases being that—'nothing ensued.' What is due to Mr. C. Poulett Thomson's memory is, that he should be regarded and remembered as Lord Sydenham, who governed Canada for two years on the introduction of Lord Durham; and that, if too much self-regard mingled—as his journal shows—with his inducements to the work, he still bore in mind Lord Spencer's more generous suggestion, that Canada offered 'the finest field of exertion for any one, as affording the greatest power of doing the greatest good to one's fellow-creatures.'

dividuals the household was composed till having to talk over the matter with his intended colleagues, he referred to the Red book, and was struck with the completeness of the arrangements for surrounding the Queen with the nearest relations of the Whig ministers. For instance—

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book, he found that in the closest attendance upon the queen were the wife of Lord Normandy and the sister of Lord Merpoth. Sir R. Peel told his intended colleagues what he meant to do. He should not propose any change in the offices below that of lady of the bedchamber. He trusted that the ladies who held the higher offices would voluntarily resign. If they did not, he must propose a change. This was not only reasonable, as requiring the most ordinary and indispensable token of the confidence of the sovereign, but it was a constitutional right. The highest authorities on constitutional points declared that the appointments of the household are strictly appointment, for which the minister is responsible. Neither the queen nor her ministers, however, knew this. Hitherto there had been sufficient consideration for the dignity and the feelings of the sovereign to keep the constitutional question out of sight. Now that the Melbourne ministry had rashly brought it forward, it was found that Sir R. Peel was right. Though constitutionally right, it was, however, said at the time that he was politically wrong, and that he might have known that the ladies in question would certainly resign immediately, and their places be quietly filled up in a prudent manner with persons in a neutral position as to their political connections. That Sir R. Peel retired upon this difficulty was regarded as a sign that he was not ready for office, that not only was Ireland his ‘difficulty,’ as he said, but that it was so great a difficulty as to dispose him for office. If the Whigs now came in again, they would hold rule at his will and pleasure, and he could take their places at any time when they had fairly tried, and proved to the world, the issue of their Irish

policy. However this might be, what took place about the household appointments was made known to all the world—the queen having given permission to Sir R. Peel to tell his part of the story in parliament. The explanations of the Whig ministers, and the records of the daily news of the time, supply the rest.

When Sir R. Peel told the queen, on the Thursday, what he proposed to do, she misunderstood him, as was afterwards acknowledged, and supposed him to contemplate the removal of all her servants and household friends. This was certainly the impression she had given to the late ministers when they agreed in council on the mistaken advice which they gave the queen. The queen stopped Sir R. Peel in his statement of his wish to consult her predilections, by declaring that she would admit no change whatever in the female appointments of her household. She sent for Lord J. Russell, and expressly put the question to him whether she was not right in this. He replied that she was right; and she then naturally requested him to support her now, as she had before supported her ministers. She also appealed to Lord Melbourne, and stated her intentions to the Duke of Wellington. The duke was of opinion that Sir R. Peel must retire if the queen's mind was thus made up. Lord Melbourne called his colleagues together, and in council they advised the queen to send the following note to Sir R. Peel: 'The queen, having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir R. Peel, to remove the ladies of her bedchamber, cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage, and which is repugnant to her feelings.' Thus the Whig ministers formally assumed the responsibility of this act. No allusion is made to the constitutional principle of the case; and Lord John Russell's appeal throughout was to 'usage.' It is strange that he and his colleagues did not see how contrary to usage it was to place the sovereign in the position into which they had brought their queen.

CHAPTER XIV

Dark Times—Successive Harvests—Grinding of Corn in Bond—Discon-

—Birth of the Princess Royal

ALLUSION has been made to the darkness of the times in 1839 and 1840. Since the peace, there had hardly been a season so gloomy in fact and in prospect. In looking for the causes of the misery and crime of this period, we find them, as usual in the state of the crops. There were then, as usual, multitudes of people who did not understand, and the fact and their failure to understand it together were soon to bring about the greatest social as parliamentary reform was the greatest political, event of the century. There were then, as usual, professional men, country gentlemen and others by hundreds, who said with an air of superiority, that they took no interest in politics, and these were the men who concluded that the commotions and outrages of the period were owing to the unfortunate propensity of 'the lower classes' to concern themselves with politics. There were then, as usual, clergymen by hundreds who said with a complacent smile, or in air of pious trust, that since England was England there had always been alarms of bad crops, but that it always ended in there being a harvest, these gentlemen not having the remotest idea of the differences between one group of years and another as to production of food, and never perceiving that it was their especial duty as clergymen to look closely into the causes of want, woe, and crime. They thought that the perverseness of the heart of man was explanation enough of any amount or capricious accession of guilt, and, as they could not stoop to politics or political economy, they remained unaware that the average of moral disease might be anticipated as

confidently as that of physical disease, from the estimate of the harvests of any group of years. It was no thanks to them that this miserable experiment is now no longer likely to be tried. It is no thanks to them that, by opening to our country an access to the harvests of the world, a prospect lies before us of a more equable supply and price of food, and a cessation of the fluctuations and cruel uncertainties which perilled the fortunes of the well-fed, and wore out the heart and hope of the multitudes who had to win their bread from day to day. There were still hundreds and thousands of men—and the leading politicians of both parties were among them—who thought that to attack the corn-laws was to attack the constitution of society; who would no more listen to evidence of the mischief of agricultural protection than they would listen to arguments against the institution of property. It is worth recording again here, that the prime-minister himself had volunteered his opinion on the matter in the House of Lords, saying that he had heard of many mad things in his life, but, before God, the idea of repealing the corn-laws was the maddest he had ever heard of. Thus it was with Lord Melbourne. Lord J. Russell counselled the House to refuse to hear evidence on the operation of the corn-laws. Sir R. Peel was as yet pondering sliding-scales, and destined to propose and try another before he should discover that this was a matter in which adjustments could be of no possible use, while they were pretty sure to do mischief. To set against all these classes of men, there was another—a little band at first, but soon becoming a host—who understood the matter enough to be sure of attaining a thorough knowledge of it, as soon as they should combine to act upon what they knew. The darkening of the times in 1839 determined these men to aim at a repeal of the corn-laws as the first object to their own fortunes, to the actual preservation of the working-classes, and to the welfare of the nation at large.

During the four years from 1832 to 1835 inclusive, more wheat was grown in Great Britain, it is believed, than was ever known before. More wheat was sown: and the improvements in tillage were by that time so considerable as to produce clear results. But during those four years

also the winters had no undue frosts, the spring rains were enough, and not too much, and the summer suns were warm enough to harden and ripen the grain. They were four noble harvests, as far as wheat was concerned, though barley rose nearly to the price of wheat and hay and pulse were dear. The farmers suffered, as they were apt to do, under a stringent corn law which made them rich in bad seasons, and prepared for their impoverishment in abundant years. But while they were in such adversity as that royal speeches commiserated them, and parliament discussed their case, everybody else was prospering. The very cattle, sheep, and pigs, were eating wheat, brewers and distillers were making beer and spirits from it. The agricultural labourers, though receiving very low wages, were more comfortable than usual, from the cheapness of provisions. They found themselves in easier circumstances with 8s per week, and wheat at 85s, than with 12s per week, and wheat at 77s. As for all other working classes of the kingdom, it was a time of high prosperity for them. All the mines and all the mills were busy, and the tradesmen of the towns were everywhere prosperous, for the largest classes of society were employed on full wages, and bread being cheap, they had money to spare for other objects of purchase. The houses of the operatives filled with furniture, and their chests with good clothes. The tradesmen rose in proportion from this increase of custom, and in their turn improved the condition of the manufacturers, who, in consequence kept up or extended their manufacture, to the continued benefit of the operatives. Such was the happy state of things while we were blessed with good harvests and the prosperity reached its height towards the close of 1835, when wheat was at 85s 4d. Owing to its cheapness, less was now sown of wheat, and more of

summer was
nd, so that

unequal in the north and south, the harvest was not well got in. On the whole, there was a considerable falling off from preceding years, but still, more than enough was got in for the wants of the country till the harvest of 1837. The crop of 1837 was

just sufficient for the wants of the country; but it was inferior to the production of any one of the five preceding seasons. The people were still eating abundantly, as the last few years had accustomed them to do. If now there had been a propitious season, everything might have gone on smoothly, though food prices were higher than they had been. During the commercial difficulties of the spring of 1837, which have been before exhibited, when credit was disturbed by foreign influences, the price of wheat, as of other things, had risen unduly; but at the end of 1837, it was 53s.; and at this price, manufactures, commerce, and the condition of the people might have gone on without deterioration. But the weather was now dreadful. In the middle of January an extraordinary frost set in, which lasted so long as to occasion serious fears for the wheat in the ground; and in February, the price rose to 55s. 3d. In March, it rose further; and again in May, when frosts recurred. In July, it was 68s. As harvest prospects did not improve, the price of wheat rose to 77s. in the third week in August. In September, all the bonded wheat in the kingdom was entered for home consumption. Prices fell as a large quantity of foreign corn was thrown into the market in September; but by the next January, wheat was at 81s. 6d. The difference of quantity home-grown between 1834 and this date was above 7,000,000 of quarters. At the same time, and in strict connection with this deficiency, manufactures had fallen off, and the prices of articles in common use among the working-classes had risen; so that those classes found themselves now receiving less wages, and compelled to pay dear for the necessaries of life. The distress was becoming formidable. Yet were hundreds of the clergy smiling over the usual alarms, as they called them, about the harvests; and the gentry who prided themselves on taking no interest in politics, discoursed upon the perverseness and wickedness of the human heart, which led men into discontent and rebellion, while living in the best country in the world. There was some increase in the wages of agricultural labour; and this was pointed out as a proof that high prices bring high wages; . . . as a slight and temporary rise of agricultural

compelled to pay for the expenses of the combination while they had any funds left. The chancellor of the exchequer noticed in the House, in May 1838, the remarkable diminution of the deposits in savings banks. *This brought the operative class all the sooner upon the funds of the capitalists.* From working the mills short time in order to prolong the prospect of any work at all, the mill-owners were soon working even the short time at a loss, rather than turn the poor people adrift entirely, and their capital was melting away from week to week—given to feed the poor as truly as if it had been paid as poor rate. Meantime Lord Ashley was regarding this class of men as oppressors who wrung their wealth out of the sinews of children, and every session renewed his motion for the protection of factory children, while the ministers, who evidently did not understand the case paltered with it in a way which drew on them a severe rebuke from Sir R. Peel. For the government to say, 'were his words, *'session after session, that it would bring in a bill on the subject, for the government, session after session, to abandon the bills they introduce, without permitting others to be brought in by individuals in their stead—is like applying a perpetual blister to the sides of the country, and keeping up the fever and irritation of a dangerous sore.* It is because I cannot fail to perceive the competition with which this country is threatened—it is because I see that the interests of humanity, in the large view of the question, are likely to be less consulted by the *shortsighted restriction of labour* than they are by its perfect freedom—it is because the fact is unquestionable, that though you may exempt the child from fatigue, you also deprive it of prospective employment, by driving the manufacturers to seek elsewhere that protection which is denied them at home—it is for these reasons that I implore parliament to decide the question this night, whether it will legislate or not.' It was not decided that night, *nor for some years afterwards.* After that session Mr Poulett Thomson who understood the matter, appeared no more in the House, and when he was gone, the other Whig ministers appeared unable to hold the convictions they occasionally expressed against legislative

interference with factory labour. Thus was the irritation of this 'perpetual blister' added to the many others under which employers and labourers were suffering. The mill-owners resented this interference with the management of their affairs, which operated as a reduction of the value of the machinery which they had put up in the expectation of freedom in making their arrangements—seeing, all the time, how fruitless must be all attempts to legislate between parents and children, and how manufactures must droop under arbitrary restrictions imposed by the legislature. The operatives were kept in a state of agitation, whatever might be their opinions on the subject. Some fretted at the refusal of the legislature to let Lord Ashley take care of their children; while those of an opposite way of thinking declared it no time to be preventing their families from earning all they could, and resented this interference with their only possession, their labour, as the most flagrant attack yet attempted on the rights of the poor. All this did not tend to the tranquillisation of the country.

During the latter part of 1838, when Chartist meetings were held frequently, and with a formidable aspect throughout the north of England, the home secretary, Lord John Russell, had shown a humane anxiety to bring the ignorant crowd to their senses, and within the limits of order, without visiting their guilty leaders with any treatment which could be construed as persecution, and be made to yield the ordinary fruits of persecution. Many complaints were made of want of vigour in this method of proceeding; but there appears every reason to believe that the disorder of the time would have been more violent if severity had been used, instead of being extinguished. Under a Sidmouth rule at the home-office, we might have seen all the north of England in a blaze of rebellion before the end of 1838. As it was, matters grew too threatening to be left to take their course without check. Great allowance was to be made for the irritation of the Lancashire operatives, from suffering of body and mind; but in the month of November, the torch-light meetings became formidable enough to alarm the inhabitants at large, to whom protection was due. On the 22nd

of that month, the home secretary sent a letter to the Lancashire magistrates, requesting them to make public notification of the illegality of torch light meetings of the kind then in fashion, and to declare their intention of preventing or dispersing such meetings. This was followed up in the middle of December, by a royal proclamation, which enjoined all persons to desist from holding torch-light meetings. It was time to put some restraint on the leaders and orators of these meetings, for now the Rev J Stephens, the chief orator, had denounced a mill-owner at Ashton under Lyne as 'a devil's magistrate,' and had prophesied that 'his house would soon be too hot to hold him,' and this gentleman's factory was fired one night soon after, while Stephens was holding forth to a torch-light assemblage. Stephens was arrested before the end of the month, but admitted to bail while awaiting his trial at the Liverpool assizes. While out on bail, he preached to crowded congregations, with a violence of language which looked like insanity. Some of the witnesses against him were respectable Wesleyans who had sat under his father's ministry, and were most reluctant to appear against the agitator, but they knew so much of the sharpening of pikes and preparation of fire

imprisonment of a year and a half in Huntsford Jail. A far more respectable and reasonable man was chairman of some of the earlier meetings—among others at the great Kersal Moor meeting at Manchester, when not fewer than 200 000 persons are said to have been congregated—Mr. Fielden, the member for Oldham—the great promoter, under Lord Ashley, of the ten hour measure. Mr Fielden was a man of great benevolence, and of a disinterestedness which gave him an influence among men better informed than himself which he had not judgment or knowledge to command. He was too good for such work as the grosser kind of Chartist agitation, when he once saw what it was becoming, but his early sanction of torch light meetings was a mistake to be regretted. The other leaders at this

period were Richard Oastler, of Leeds, whose complacent ignorance unfitted him for any task of political guidance: and Feargus O'Connor, whose only escape from a charge of cruel fraud on his followers for a course of years, is in an admission of such senselessness and ignorance as have made him the worst enemy of those whom he professed to serve. It is very probable that from the moment when Feargus O'Connor first placed himself at the head of a Chartist procession to the last stoppage of his land scheme, he may have fancied himself a sort of saviour of the working-classes: but if so, he must bear the contempt and compassionate disapproval of all men of ordinary sense and knowledge, as the only alternative from their utter reprobation.

After 1839 came in, new leaders and new mobs arose, and also a more respectable association, which deserved better than to be connected in name and reputation with the Chartism of the Stephensens and Oastlers, and the torebearers who fired factories. Delegates were sent from the working-classes to form a convention in London, for the promotion of the rights of the Commons of England, and especially for calling the Commons House to account for its neglect of the interests of the working-classes. This National Convention could not effect much, from the want of intellectual discipline, political knowledge, and business habits, among the members: but it was so clear in its reprobation of physical force for the attainment of its objects, so free from rapacity in its aims, and so earnest in its pursuit of rights and privileges which are legitimate and virtuous objects of desire, that it was regarded with kindness by all good-hearted and unprejudiced men, however little hope or fear they might feel from its proceedings. This kindly feeling was very evident on the presentation of the national petition prepared by the convention, and carried into the House of Commons on the 14th of June. It was a wonderful document — 'a cylinder of parchment about the diameter of a coach-wheel, literally rolled into the House' — and signed by upwards of 1,200,000 persons. The ordinary rule of permitting no speech on the presentation of a petition was disregarded on this occasion; and when, a member desired, in insolent language, to stop the

be insulted in their own manufactories, and their business put to hazard, by men whom they could not well dismiss, but by whom they were told that all capitalists were tyrants, born with a silver-spoon in their mouths, and so on. The evil here was clearly not political. It was

in regard to means of popular instruction. Sheffield is another; but in Sheffield, matters were even worse. Besides the usual manœuvres of breaking windows, extinguishing the street lights, and pelting the soldiery, the malcontents planned the murder of some of the best and kindest hearted gentlemen of the place. At Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at Stockport, at Manchester, as well as in the

extortion of money or goods from shopkeepers, under intimidation; a practice which called forth a letter from the home secretary to the magistrates of Manchester, encouraging them to use the most vigorous means to put down this method of pillage. Many who leaned towards the Chartists before, in sympathy if not in conviction, gave them up altogether on the appearance of this symptom of the agitation. One of the strange caprices of the malcontents was attending the cathedrals and other churches in overwhelming numbers, and wearing some sort of badge. Five hundred of them went in procession to St. Paul's, in August. At first, most of them insisted on wearing their hats; but they yielded the point to the verger, and behaved very quietly. On the next Sunday, Norwich Cathedral was crowded to the last foothold by

the giving out of the text of the sermon, and it is said to be that, instead of accepting the Scripture verse prescribed beforehand by his Chartist hearers, the preacher

chose: 'My house is the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves.' For the preacher's sake, we must hope that the choice of his text had no reference to the Chartists. This mode of action—by filling the churches—was soon given up, as it evidently did not aid the Chartist cause, and was wisely passed over in quietness; and it had ceased before the autumn, with those other demonstrations, whose discontinuance had persuaded the attorney-general himself that Chartism was extinct.

It was only a lull; and that Edinburgh declaration was mischievous during the ensuing weeks, as showing that the ministers were off their guard—to say nothing of its tone of triumph, which was anything but conciliatory. Mr. Frost was awake and active, and far from grateful for the leniency which had afforded him an opportunity for remaining in the magistracy at the beginning of the year. On the 3rd of November, which was on Sunday, his brother-magistrates at Newport had information that he was marching down large bodics of armed men from the hills upon the town. The attack upon the town was to have been made in the night; but the weather was bad; and the malcontents did not muster in sufficient force till the morning, when, at about ten o'clock, they entered the town. They attacked the hotel where the military were stationcd, and provoked the destruction of more than twenty of their number. The magistrates acted with eminent discretion and courage; the mayor, especially, so distinguishing himself that he was afterwards knighted at Windsor Castle. Frost's followers amounted to upwards of 7000 when within the town, and there were very many more upon the hills.

The conspiracy, frustrated by bad weather, and the good conduct of the Newport authorities, was found to be a truly formidable one, from its orderly arrangements, the number of persons in the district involved in the scheme, and its 'connection with the Chartists of Birmingham and other places. Two other leaders, Jones and Williams, were arrested and tried with Frost. There could be no doubt of the enormity of their crime in leading this rebellion; and it was not easy to see on what plea their pardon could be asked. It was asked, however—e

allegations they had made against the operation of the corn laws. We find the metropolitan boroughs holding meetings to appoint delegates on their own behalf, and passing resolutions of discontent at the omission of the topic of the corn laws from the queen's speech. On the 7th of February, when Mr Villiers had given notice of a motion that evidence on the operation of the corn laws should be heard at the bar, Lord J Russell made a little speech which caused a stronger sensation than some of the longest he had ever delivered. It was copied into the newspapers with a declaration that it made one's blood boil, and the universal impression among men of all parties, seems to have been that it proved him so un-
 aware of the existing circumstances and temper of the nation as to injure his immediate reputation and influence and to weaken him, unaccountably to himself in every one of the various positions in regard to the corn law question, in which he afterwards endeavoured to establish himself. He said 'the impression on his mind was that it would be his duty to oppose the motion as to hearing evidence at the bar. He had not as yet found sufficient reasons or precedents to induce him to adopt that course. At the same time he must say, that as there would be a great deal of discussion relating to facts when a mode was proposed which he thought was conformable to precedent and not inconvenient to the House by which these facts could be ascertained he should be willing although not ready to propose it himself to support a motion so to ascertain the facts.' This might have been taken as a matter of course from Sir R Peel in those days—this speech about propriety and precedent and the convenience of the House in regard to a matter about which 3 000 000 of the best subjects in the empire had sent up representatives to London, and a message to parliament. Such a speech would have suited Sir R Peel's then position and views with regard to the corn laws. But Lord J Russell had declared to his Strand constituents that the existing corn laws were indefensible, and he declared on this very night that he believed the time to be come for a change. The delegates who were addressing the House now knew where to place Lord J Russell on their

lists. He disapproved the corn-laws in the abstract—just as the Carolina planters disapprove slavery in the abstract. In both cases, when an opportunity for acting from that disapprobation occurs, the action goes over to the other side. This was proved on the 18th of the same month, when, the cabinet being divided on Mr Villiers's motion, Lord J. Russell voted against it, with Lord Howick, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Spring Rice, and some minor officials, while Mr. Poulett Thomson, in this his last session in parliament, and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, voted for inquiry. Mr. Villiers's speech that night was not lost. It was a statement of singular force and clearness; and the occasion was destined to great celebrity. Of all the many weak and blind acts of the Whig ministers, none was more memorable than this refusal to hear evidence on a subject whose importance they professed to admit; and Mr. Villiers's position was conspicuous in proportion to their fall. On that night he assumed his post undisputed as the head authority in the legislature on the subject of the corn-laws; and from that night the Whig ministers who opposed his motion lost all chance of being generally trusted in any popular action on that subject. If they had understood this as others understood it, their exit from power two years afterwards would have been made in another manner than it was. The majority of the Commons against inquiry was 361 to 172. As for the peers, they would not entertain the subject at all. Lord Brougham laid the case before them in a strong and able statement; but they negatived it without a division.

The delegates met, and passed votes of thanks to Lord Brougham and Mr. Villiers. Among the hopeful speakers was Richard Cobden. There was no cause for despondency, he said, because the House over the way had refused to hear them. They were the representatives of three millions of people—they were the evidence that the great towns had banded themselves together, and their alliance would be a Hanseatic league against their feudal corn-law plunderers. The castles which crowned the rocks along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Elbe, had once been the stronghold of feudal oppressors: but they had been dismantled by a league; and they now only

adorned the landscape as picturesque memorials of the past, while the people below had lost all fear of plunder, and tilled their vineyards in peace. A public dinner at one of the theatres was offered to the delegates, but they were leaving town. They made no secret of why they were leaving town: it was to meet again at Manchester. The upholders of the corn laws were quite at ease when they no longer saw the train of delegates going down to the House. Yet there were not wanting voices of warning which told them that the matter was not over. While one register of the time tells, with easy satisfaction, that the vote of the Commons 'had the effect of putting the question to rest, and no more was heard of it, during the remainder of the session' another is found giving warning that the departure of the delegates was like the breaking up of a Mahratta camp—the war was not over.

There

delegates had offered to meet

refused to be instructed, the House must be instructed, related was the grandest, and was to be by in were to meet again

at Manchester in a fortnight, of their method of general instruction, which, in its seven years' operation, approached more nearly to a genuine national education than any scheme elsewhere at work. By the Anti Corn-Law League the people at large were better trained to thought and its communication, to the recognition of principles, the obtaining of facts, and the application of the same faculties and the same interest to their public as to their private affairs, than by any methods of intellectual development yet tried under the name of education.

The present was a time when minds were feverish, and disposed to undue alarm from any untoward circumstance, and the queen was made to bear her share of the uneasy excitement. It was no wonder that, as all eminent persons were liable to visions of the infernal, and the infirm minds are liable to the intrusions of the insane. It was no wonder that to any-

body that one lunatic, having crept up to the garden steps of Buckingham Palace, should threaten her majesty because no Protestant should occupy the throne of England; nor that another, having leaped the enclosures at Windsor, should demand admittance to the castle as King of England; and so forth. But there were worse alarms than these, for two or three years. At first, there really was terror when a pistol was fired near the royal carriage, in the course of the queen's drives. Her popularity was by no means what it had been. Sometimes silence, and sometimes disagreeable cries, in the streets and the theatres, indicated this. The disheartened and suffering people could not understand how the prime-minister could properly conduct the public business while seen daily with the queen, or heard of at her parties; nor how so much money could be properly spent upon the queen's banquets and balls, while so many poor were starving; nor how the queen could enjoy festivities for six days in the week, while there was so much mourning in the land. When one pistol-shot after another was directed at the queen's carriage within two or three years, it was clearly proved in each case that there was no conspiracy, and no immediate working of political discontent; yet the general impression was that the odious act might not have been attempted in a season of prosperity and satisfaction. The first case, which occurred on the 10th of June 1840, was a type of the rest, and may serve for a notice of them all. A youth of eighteen or nineteen, named Oxford, who was foolish, if not insane, fired two pistol-shots at the queen in her phaeton on Constitution Hill. He was poor and ignorant; and it was so impossible to find any cause for the act, that he was pronounced insane, and given over to a lunatic asylum for life. On this first occasion, the excitement was so strong—members of parliament applying for locks of Oxford's hair when it was cut off—the whole aristocratic crowd in the parks escorting the queen home with cheers, and the affair appearing in capital letters in the newspapers for weeks, that it is not surprising that an ignorant person here and there, with a morbid longing for notoriety, should try to get it by shooting at the queen. This became so well understood

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